

NVMEN

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW FOR THE
HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

EDITED ON BEHALF OF THE

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

by M. HEERMA VAN VOSS and R. J. Z. WERBLOWSKY

VOLUME XXXII



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1985

CONTENTS

Articles

HANS H. PENNER, Language, Ritual and Meaning.....	1
HOWARD M. JACKSON, The Meaning and Function of the Leontocephaline in Roman Mithraism	17
KEVIN M. MILLER, Apollo Lairbenos	46
BRIAN K. SMITH, Sacrifice and Being	71
DAVID SCOTT, Christian responses to Buddhism in pre-medieval times	88
CHARLES BOEWE, A Note on Rafinesque, the Walam Olum, the Book of Mormon, and the Mayan Glyphs	101
BERNHARD KÖLVER, Stages in the Evolution of a World Picture	131
WADE T. WHEELOCK, Patterns of Mantra Use in a Vedic Ritual	169
JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY, The Making of a Mandaean Priest: the Tarmida Initiation	194
MICHAEL E. STONE, Three transformations in Judaism: scripture, history and redemption	218
JAIME ALVAR, Matériaux pour l'étude de la formule <i>sive deus, sive dea</i>	236

Review article

JÖRG SALAQUARDA, Nietzsche und der Buddhismus	274
---	-----

Book reviews

<i>Drei Colloquia</i> (M. H.v.V.)	114
Fernandez, James W., <i>Bwiti</i> (R. P. WERBNER)	115
Cerutti, Maria Vittoria, <i>Dualismo et ambiguità</i> (GEDALIAHU G. STROUMSA)	280
Day, Terrence P., <i>The Conception of Punishment in Early Indian Literature</i> (A. GLUCKLICH).....	281
Ullendorf, Edward, and C. F. Beckingham, <i>The Hebrew Letters of Prester John</i> (STEVEN KAPLAN)	282

<i>Studies on the Mysteries of Manjusri</i> by Raoul Birnbaum (CHRISTINE GUTH KANDA).....	284
Gager, John G., <i>The Origins of Anti-Semitism</i> ; Wilken, Robert L., <i>John Chrysostom and the Jews</i> (GEDALIAH G. STROUMSA)	287
Heesterman, J. C., <i>The Inner Conflict of Tradition</i> (DAVID SHULMAN)	289
<i>Publications received</i>	118
<i>Obituary</i> (HEINZ BECHERT)	119

NVMEN

Copyright 1985 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or
translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche
or any other means without written permission from the publisher*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS BY E. J. BRILL

LANGUAGE, RITUAL AND MEANING

HANS H. PENNER

The history of the cultural sciences teaches us that in our quest for an explanation we often seek answers to the wrong questions. For example, scholars of religion have attempted to answer the meaning of religion by tracing the history of religion. We now know that the history of religion, as the history of language, will not yield an answer to the meaning of religion or language. Historians of religion have also searched for an answer to the meaning of religious symbols. Most historians of religion have tried to answer the question of symbolic meaning by studying the attributes, or the discrete elements of symbols, with the hope that an answer to the question of the meaning of religious symbols will be forthcoming by integrating the various symbols, or their attributes, across the various religions. We now know that a study of symbols will not yield their meaning, if they have one, simply because it is not the symbols themselves, but the relations between symbols which constitute or defines, their meaning.

Several years ago *Numen* published an article by Professor Frits Staal in which he argued that rituals are meaningless.¹ This is indeed a provocative thesis and if Staal is right, then the thesis should provide one more revolution in the history of religions. Once again we would learn that we have been seeking an answer to a wrong question. The quest for the meaning of rituals is misguided simply because rituals are meaningless.

This essay is not a review of Staal's article. The article is neither profound as scholarship, nor specific in its description of either theory or the present status of ritual analysis. Although Staal's generalizations and conclusions about the "widespread" notions of ritual are not as simple as he describes them, I agree with him that we have not reached as yet a well formed theory which will explain them. Furthermore, Staal admits toward the end of his article that the syntactic structures (rules) he has constructed (following transformational generative linguistics), "do not correspond to any

existing ritual," or "to any actual ritual."² He is quite right. No one could take his "rules" and apply them to a ritual, including the ancient Agnicayana ritual which he observed some years ago in a new performance in India. The "rules," therefore, are an interesting exercise, but they are irrelevant.³

What is of interest is his hypothesis that rituals are meaningless and that the "syntax" of ritual (assuming we can describe this syntax) precedes the syntax of language.⁴

According to Staal's hypothesis, ritual is meaningless because it is "pure activity without meaning or goal," ritual exists "for its own sake," and to say that "ritual is for its own sake is to say that it is meaningless," rituals are "useless."⁵ These assertions are difficult to understand because we are not given further explanations concerning precisely what Staal means by "meaning," "pure activity," and "ritual for its own sake," except that rituals are not goal oriented. Rituals do not have an aim, they are not to be considered as a means toward an end. The context of the article seems to indicate that Staal does not have Max Weber in mind in presenting this hypothesis. We will not therefore, head down the Weberian road for an interpretation. This is not to say that a Weberian could not make sense out of what Staal is asserting. The outcome, however, would be quite different; rituals are not only meaningless, they are irrational, since rationality from a Weberian context is always a means-end calculation. But, then again I may be wrong. This may indeed be the framework for Staal's hypothesis. The reason for this uncertainty is due to the total lack of theoretical background for the hypothesis presented in the essay.

Given this deficiency let us, without impunity, take the liberty of providing an interpretation of the two hypotheses. First of all, Staal seems to be saying that rituals are meaningless because rituals do not refer to anything, they have no reference (i.e., goal or aim). This seems to be a good start towards understanding what the first hypothesis is all about. A moment's reflection will indicate that if this is what Staal is asserting then he must be mistaken. We know since at least the time of Frege that a referential theory of meaning is inadequate. A well-formed theory of meaning must include reference but cannot be based upon reference as a theory of meaning. In addition to Frege's famous examples of "the morning star"

and “the evening star” we can also raise the question of what does “and,” “the,” and “of,” refer to? It would be odd to assert they are meaningless because they do not refer. The answer, of course, is that their meaning is constituted by the relations which define them in a sentence. That is what syntax is all about! Thus if we follow the developments in linguistics, rituals could be meaningful in spite of the fact, if true, that they do not have a reference. From a purely semantic point of view we can state this in a different way. The meaning of rituals may not be synthetic, but that does not entail that they are meaningless for they may well be analytic in semantic content. For example, ritual propositions, if there are any, may be equivalent to, “all bachelors are unmarried males.”

I do not for a moment believe this is the case but simply want to use this example to illustrate the point that if rituals do not refer to practical aspects of the “lived-in” world, then it simply does not follow that they are meaningless. If on the other hand someone could show that rituals are neither synthetic nor analytic in their semantic content, then it might well be the case that we could conclude they are meaningless. The problem concerning the meaning of ritual, myth and religion is crucial for the development of the history of religion. I do not think we will take a single step forward towards resolving the problem until we learn a simple fact: the analysis of “meaning” is a semantic or semiological issue. We have a great deal to learn from these disciplines in linguistics and we have much to contribute in return.⁶

We can confirm the accuracy of our understanding of Staal’s position by using another useful experiment. Scholars do not always provide us with a theoretical framework which explains *what* they are asserting and *why* what they are asserting is an important advance over competing theories. When we are confronted with such a situation it is often useful to observe what they have overlooked in their criticism of alternate positions on a particular subject. For it is often the case that what a scholar overlooks in a given critique is precisely what is being assumed. Staal’s essay is a good example of this.

What Staal overlooks in his general overview and criticism of contemporary theories of ritual is that all of them assume that rituals must refer to something in order to have meaning. Thus the

various explanations of ritual are not as disparate as they appear. The differences in explanation are because of disagreements on what rituals refer to. For Hooke rituals referred to myth, for Durkheim ritual referred to social life, for Freud it was the unconscious and for Eliade it is the sacred. Referential theories of meaning continue to have a powerful hold on scholars interested in the study of religion and culture.

The grand assumption throughout the history of scholarship on ritual, myth and religious symbols is a simple one; if you want to determine the meaning of a ritual, myth or religious symbol, then look for its reference. There is an important lesson to be learned from this history of scholarship on ritual and myth. The fact that we have not been able to adequately resolve the problem of the meaning of myth and ritual by determining their reference should alert us that we may well be asking the wrong question. Given the modern developments in linguistics we can no longer assume that the meaning of something is its reference.⁷

The difficulty of liberating oneself from the identity of meaning with reference can be confirmed by turning to the master of structural anthropology. Levi-Strauss, as is well-known, was able to ask new questions of kinship, totemism, and myth because of his brilliant use of developments in linguistics since de Saussure. One would expect, therefore, that he would apply this knowledge of linguistics in analyzing myth to help us resolve the vexing problem of meaning in both myth and ritual. This is not to say that Levi-Strauss is unconcerned; he is well aware of the fact that, “In mythology, as in linguistics, formal analysis immediately raises the question of meaning.”⁸ Given this insight what do we find? Levi-Strauss begins his massive treatise on mythology by asserting that, “Mythology has no obvious practical function.”⁹ He ends his first volume on mythology with the following conclusion: “The layered structure of myth to which I drew attention in a previous work ... allows us to look upon myth as a matrix of meanings which are arranged in lines of columns, but in which each level always refers to some other level, whichever way the myth is read. Similarly, each matrix of meanings refers to another matrix, each myth to other myths. And if it is now asked to what final meaning these mutually significative meanings are referring—since in the last resort and in

their totality they must refer to something—the only reply to emerge from this study is that myths signify the mind that evolves them by making use of the world of which it is itself a part.”¹⁰ Notice, “since in the last resort and in their *final* meaning they must refer to something.” Must they? Not necessarily. In fact, as Dan Sperber argues in his prolegomenon to a theory of symbolism, “Levi-Strauss has demonstrated the opposite of what he asserts, and myths do not constitute a language. He proposed the first elaborated alternative to semiological views of myth—and, beyond that of symbolism—all the while stating that he was, above all else, a semiologist.”¹¹ Whatever the outcome of Sperber’s critique, it seems clear that for Levi-Strauss if it were the case that in the last resort myths did not refer to something then they would be meaningless. Staal seems to agree with this position. We shall return to this passage from Levi-Strauss later.

What seems odd with Staal’s hypothesis is the nature of ritual as “pure activity,” ritual is done for its own sake, ritual has no pragmatic utility as a means to an end. This seems odd until we remember that this is precisely what the age of romanticism taught us with regard to myth, religion and art. Could it be that the romantics are still with us? A brief review will show I believe that there is a surprising agreement between Staal and the Romantics.

The thread that holds together the variations of romantic thought on art, poetry, and mythology can be called, to use a term from Todorov, “intransitive signification.”¹² From Moritz to Schelling, F. W. Schlegel and Creuzer, art, poetry and mythology are intransitive, containing their own intrinsic value. It is this notion, which Todorov traces back to Kant’s *Critique of Judgement*, that will reverse the meaning of the term “symbol” which we have inherited in modern times.¹³

For the romantics intransitive signification is the opposite of allegory. Intransitive signification is useless. Here is how Moritz expressed it: “The purely useful object is thus not a whole in itself, not a finished product (*Vollendetes*), and it becomes a completed whole only when it attains its goal in me.—In the consideration of the beautiful, however, I remove the goal from myself and I replace it in the object: I consider it as something *accomplished in itself*, and not in me: it thus constitutes a whole in itself, and gives me pleasure

for itself ... I love the beautiful object rather for itself, whereas I only love the useful object for myself”. And again, “The concept of uselessness, to the extent that it has no purpose, no reason for being, is all the more easily and all more closely linked with the concept of beauty, to the extent that this latter also needs no purpose, no reason for being outside itself, but possesses its entire value and the goal of its existence in itself.”¹⁴

Moritz carries this central notion of intransiveness into mythology:

“Seeking to transform the story of the classical gods into pure allegory, with the help of all sorts of interpretations, is as foolish an enterprise as seeking to transform these poems into good true stories, with the help of all sorts of forced explanations ... In order to avoid changing these beautiful poems in any way, it is necessary to take them *as they are* ...”¹⁵ Schelling repeats this doctrine in his famous treatise, *Philosophie der Mythologie*: “Mythology ... has no meaning other than the one it expresses ... Given the necessity with which its *form* likewise is born, mythology is entirely proper, that is, it must be understood just as it expresses itself, and not as if it thought one thing and said another. Mythology is not *allegorical*; it is *tautagogical* ... instead of *being* one thing and *signifying* another, they signify only what they are.”¹⁶

Novalis sums up the arts in the following way: “Art ... is divided ... into [two] main portions, the one being art either defined by its objects or else directed toward other central functions of the senses by determined, finite, limited, mediate concepts; the other being art that is undefined, free immediate, originary, unguided, cyclical, beautiful, autonomous, and independent, art that realizes pure ideas, art that is enlivened by pure ideas. The first portion is only a means to an end; the second is the end in itself, the liberating activity of the mind, the enjoyment of the mind by the mind.”¹⁷

Let us now return to Staal. Here is what he says about ritual: “Ritual is pure activity, without meaning or goal. Let me briefly digress for a point of terminology. Things are either for their own sake, or for the sake of something else. If I were defending the view that ritual is for something else, it would be necessary to distinguish between such other things as meaning, function, aim or goal. But since my view is that ritual is for its own sake, I shall not bother

about these differences. To say that ritual is for its own sake is to say that it is meaningless, without function, aim, or goal, or also that it constitutes its own aim or goal. It does not follow that it has no value: but whatever value it has is intrinsic value.”¹⁸ In other words, rituals have intransitive significance!

It would be a gross oversimplification to simply identify Staal with Moritz, the Schlegels, and Schelling. Nevertheless, we are justified in asking the question whether the parallel language we have just quoted is accidental? Art for art’s sake, beauty for its own sake, mythology as *sui generis* and now ritual for its own sake indicates the power of romantic thought in the late twentieth century. The major difference, of course, is that Staal thinks that because ritual is for its own sake it is therefore meaningless. For the romantics art for its own sake entailed a superabundance of meaning, expressing the inexpressible in any other form. Nevertheless, the notion of “something for its own sake” in both the romantics and Staal raises all the problems inherent in Kant’s idea of *das Ding an sich*.¹⁹

Staal does not offer us a defense of the notion of something that is for itself, a thing-in-itself. The notion seems to contradict everything he has read in recent developments in modern linguistics. Instead, Staal shifts to another topic, “ritual syntax” as the foundation of syntax in natural languages. Let us turn to a brief examination of this hypothesis. Staal says, “syntax comes from ritual. A simple consideration in support of this idea is that animals have ritual, but not language.”²⁰

Fortunately, we do not have to examine whether it is the case that animals have or do not have rituals in order to show that Staal must be mistaken. Let us assume that animals do have rituals. What does this mean? It means quite clearly that they have the capacity to communicate with each other. It is Julian Huxley who invented the term in 1914 in his study of the great crested grebe *Podiceps cristatus*. Wilson describes it as follows: “Any evolutionary change that adds to the communicative function has been called ‘semanticization’ by Wickler ... The vast majority of known cases of semantic alteration, however, involve *ritualization*, the evolutionary process by which a behavior pattern changes to become increasingly effective as a signal.”²¹ Ritual among birds, bees and animals, therefore, is

essentially communicative. Staal denies that language is essentially communication. I agree with him on this issue. His appeal to rituals among animals, however, leads to a contradiction.

Questions of origin remain important. The wreckage of historicism should not block us from raising this question from alternative theoretical positions.²² Although we are in the domain of speculation when we think about the origin of ritual, the origin of language, or the origin of religion, we do have a few bits and pieces to help us anchor our speculations. Let us pause briefly to reflect upon this in the context of language. I have chosen language as my example because I think that theoretical developments in the study of religion which advance our knowledge of this subject will come from developments in linguistics; the study of linguistics is the necessary foundation for explanations of religion.

After an excellent analysis of Creole languages, Derek Bickerton begins a chapter on the origins of language with the following paradox: “The Paradox of Continuity is, at the present moment, perhaps the greatest obstacle to a proper understanding of language origins, as well as a powerful factor in keeping linguistics isolated from other human studies. It may be expressed as follows. On the one hand, all species-specific adaptive developments that we know of have come through regular evolutionary processes, and language, remarkable though it may be, is only one such development; therefore, language must have evolved out of prior mammalian communication systems. On the other hand, if one has anything like a complete understanding of what language is and does, one realizes that there is not simply a quantitative but a qualitative and indeed unbridgeable, gulf between the abstractions and complexities of language and the most abstract and complex of known mammalian systems (which, indeed seem pretty direct and simple); therefore, language cannot have evolved out of prior mammalian communication systems. Thus, there must have been evolutionary continuity in the development of language, yet there cannot have been evolutionary continuity in the development of language.”²³ I shall resist quoting the wit and bite Bickerton uses in his analysis of this paradox and jump to his solution: “Once we have gotten over the ‘communicative’ hang-up, we can see that where we must look for the distinctiveness of human language is not

in what it shares with call systems—both communicate—but in how it differs from call systems—language communicates concepts, call systems communicate stimuli. If we don't understand conceptualization, we don't understand language, period.”²⁴

Benveniste agrees. After describing the fascinating and complex “language” of bees, Benveniste lists several important differences which distinguish the dance of the bees from language. He then sums up the differences in the following way: “Cette différence se résume dans le terme qui nous semble le mieux approprié à définir le mode de communication employé par les abeilles; ce n'est pas un langage, c'est un code de signaux.”²⁵ When we say that animals, birds or bees have rituals, we are speaking, at best, metaphorically. The use of the term “ritual” for signal-codes and language, however, is a serious distortion of language. Language as we all know is composed of signs, and all linguistic signs have phonological, syntactic and semantic components.

Let us recall Saussure's definition of the sign. “The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound-image.” Again, “I call the combination of a concept and a sound-image a *sign* ... I propose to retain the word *sign* (*signe*) to designate the whole and to replace *concept* and *sound-image* respectively by *signified* (*signifié*) and *signifier* (*signifiant*).”²⁶ He goes on to say that “Language can also be compared with a sheet of paper: thought is the front and the sound the back; one cannot cut the front without cutting the back at the same time: likewise in language, one can neither divide sound from thought nor thought from sound; the division could be accomplished only abstractedly, and the result would be either pure psychology or pure phonology.”²⁷ It is also well-known that Saussure thought that the linguistic sign was arbitrary, that is to say the sign is “unmotivated.” Although linguists and others have used this principle for a variety of arguments, Benveniste in an important essay entitled “Nature du signe linguistique” has shown that Saussure was mistaken. “Une des composantes du signe, l'image acoustique, en constitue le signifiant; l'autre le concept, en est le signifié. Entre le signifiant et le signifié, le lien n'est pas arbitraire; au contraire, il est *nécessaire*. Le concept («signifié») «boeuf» est forcément identique dans ma conscience à l'ensemble phonique («signifiant») *bœf*. Comment en serait-

il autrement?" After quoting a passage from Saussure which indicates an agreement with this interpretation, Benveniste sums up the nature of the sign in the following way. "Le signifiant et le signifié, la représentation mentale et l'image acoustique, sont donc en réalité les deux faces d'une même notion et se composent ensemble comme l'incorporant et l'incorporé. Le signifiant est la traduction phonique d'un concept; le signifié est la contrepartie mentale du signifiant. Cette consubstantialité du signifiant et du signifié assure l'unité structurale du signe linguistique."²⁸

Roman Jacobson, following Benveniste, states the principle this way: "There is no meaning in and by itself; meaning always belongs to something we use as a sign; for example, we interpret the meaning of a linguistic sign, the meaning of a word. In language there is neither signified without signifier nor signifier without signified."²⁹ And Stephen Ullman puts it this way: "One could choose, or coin, some specialized technical terms such as Saussure's 'signifiant' and 'signifié', but I personally have found it more expedient, in teaching and research, to use simple, everyday English words, giving them a little more precision than they have in ordinary usage. The three terms I would suggest are: 'name', 'sense', and 'thing'. The '*name*' is the phonetic shape of the word, the sounds which make it up and also other acoustic features such as accent. The '*sense*' put in general terms without committing oneself to any particular psychological doctrine, is 'the information which the name conveys to the hearer', whereas the '*thing*' is Ogden and Richard's '*referent*', the non-linguistic feature or event we are talking about ... It is [the] reciprocal and reversible relationship between sound and sense which I propose to call the '*meaning*' of the word."³⁰

I have quoted passages on the nature of the linguistic sign at some length simply to stress the importance of the necessary relation between the signifier and signified. What is important is that this relation is purely linguistic; the signified is not some object in reality. The double nature of the sign as signifier/signified does not refer to an object. Once this is forgotten or overlooked we begin to search for "meanings" where they cannot be found.

The significance of all this for ritual can now be stated quite simply. If ritual is viewed as the foundation of syntax, the origin of

syntax, and if ritual is thought of as meaningless (for itself), then how do we explain the appearance of the sign. Conversely, if ritual is defined as a sign system in the context of semiotics, then meaning is inherent in the system. In such a system “there is neither signified without signifier nor signifier without signified.” If ritual is meaningless, then it is not a semiotic system. If rituals are not semiotic systems, then they do not contain or involve syntactic or semantic components.

Staal as we have noticed does not argue that rituals are not semiological systems. On the contrary, he argues that rituals do have a syntax, but they are meaningless. Given the above evidence from linguists, Staal’s position is simply wrong.

We are now better prepared to return to the quotation from Levi-Strauss on the final meaning of myth. Levi-Strauss thinks that we must determine what myths refer to because in the end they must refer to something. I think Levi-Strauss at this point makes the same mistake Benveniste has shown Saussure made in claiming that signs are arbitrary. Both, at similar points in their interpretations step outside of the signifier/signified relationship. For Saussure this led to the notion that signs are arbitrary. For Levi-Strauss, at a certain moment the signifier/signified relationship is not sufficient, myths must finally refer to something—an object called the mind. There is sufficient evidence in the corpus of his publications that this step is as unnecessary as it is problematic. Three examples will suffice to show that this is the case. The first example is his programmatic analysis of the Oedipus myth. First published in 1955, “The Structural Study of Myth” at no point determines a final meaning of the myth as referring to the mind. In fact, I have always thought that this initial attempt at a structural analysis of myth was a brilliant use of the linguistic concepts which are defined as syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of language. There is a sense in which the vertical columns are paradigmatic in their oppositional relations.³¹ The second example comes from “The Story of Asdiwal”, first published in 1958. After providing the various schemata and codes, Levi-Strauss says, “Having separated out the codes, we have analyzed the structure of the message. It now remains to decipher the meaning.”³² How does Levi-Strauss proceed? He goes to a second version of the myth.

This approach will be followed in the massive study entitled *Introduction To A Science Of Mythology*. My final example is taken from “Social Structure.” first published in 1953. Levi-Strauss has this to say in a section called “Order of Orders.” “All the models considered so far, however, are ‘lived-in’ orders: they correspond to mechanisms which can be studied from the outside as a part of objective reality. But no systematic studies of these orders can be undertaken without acknowledging the fact that social groups, to achieve their reciprocal ordering, need to call upon orders of different types, corresponding to a field external to objective reality and which we call the ‘supernatural’. The ‘thought-of’ orders cannot be checked against the experience to which they refer, since they are one and the same as this experience. Therefore, we are in the position of studying them only in their relationships with the other types of ‘lived-in’ orders. The ‘thought-of’ orders are those of myth and religion.”³³ It seems clear that a structural study of the “thought-of” orders does not require a final reference for an ultimate meaning. This does not deny the important insight which Levi-Strauss emphasizes throughout his writing: when we work with ritual, myth and religion we are dealing with cognitive issues.

The lengthy quotations from a variety of linguists also serve another purpose. They will help us see that Staal’s article contains its own refutation. Let us take a closer look. At the end of his essay Staal provides us with a most curious description of the Agnicayana ritual. “The main altar is constructed in the shape of a bird from 1005 kiln-fired bricks, 200 each in four layers, and 205 in the fifth layer which comes on top. The configuration of the first, third and fifth layer is the same; and so is that of the second and fourth. The surface of each layer is 7-½ times a square of the Yajamāna’s length. The bricks are of ten different shapes. There are 136 squares, 48 oblongs of one size, and 302 of another. In addition there are 207 halves of squares, 202 halves of oblongs, and five more groups consisting of bricks arrived at by further subdivision of the former shapes. There are ten bricks which are half as thick as all the others. All the bricks constitute furthermore another set of groups, each with its own name and consecrated by particular mantras. Most bricks have to be consecrated in a specific, very roundabout order; others may be consecrated in any order, provided

one general direction is maintained and the location of the final brick is fixed. Some bricks have figures drawn on them. Others are lifted from their proper place, carried around the altar and put back before they can be fully consecrated. All of this, and much more, is in accordance with numerous precise rules, for which in almost all cases no explanation whatever is offered.”³⁴

The above quotation indicates the extreme complexity of ritual. The context it is clear includes a specific time and place, numbers, forms, myth and cosmology. This should suffice as evidence that the ritual is more than a purely syntactic structure lacking significance. Moreover, the fact that all of this is done with precise rules which are not explained does not entail that the ritual is meaningless. Although the performers of the ritual may not be able to explain the rules, they do *know* when they are broken and they also *know* what is to be done when the rules are broken. The parallel between ritual and language at this point is quite striking. Language is based upon precise rules and most of us, since we are not linguists, cannot explain them. Furthermore, when the rules are broken we know how to correct the mistake without being able to explain the rules of syntax and semantics.

The difference between language and myth might be described as follows: rituals are learned, competence in language is not learned. But even at this point there is an interesting fact that must be remembered. Neither rituals nor myths have an author. Thus there is a sense in which performers of ritual learn to perform a ritual as we learn how to speak our language in spite of the fact that we cannot explain the rules upon which both are based. In either case it simply will do no good to search for an original performer who first taught the ritual or the language, for this simply leads us into an infinite regress.

Let us now turn to another well known cultural phenomenon in order to see that Staal is mistaken. Kinship systems as is well known are very complex systems which are constituted by specific rules. Would we want to assert that kinship systems are meaningless because they are for their own sake? That they have a syntax, but are meaningless? We know very well that it takes an expert to discover what the complex rules are, of which the participants know nothing or very little. The elements of a kinship system are

defined by their relations. Kinship systems are excellent examples of a semiological system. And when we remember that these systems are also constituted by the performance of rituals we are left with a working hypothesis which includes both kinship systems and rituals as semiotic systems.

The primary question which needs to be addressed by interested historians of religion is the following: are myth and ritual languages? That is to say, are they semiotic systems as described in this essay? If they are, Levi-Strauss has provided a way for us to proceed in developing the structure and significance of these systems. If they are not, then Sperber provides an alternative: symbols do not have meaning in any semantic sense we know of. Our contribution to this important investigation is clear. It would not only advance our knowledge of religion by raising a new set of questions, it would also assist linguists who have taken a strong position against behaviorism from delivering ritual into behaviorist hands.³⁵

Dartmouth College,
U.S.A.

HANS H. PENNER

¹ "The Meaninglessness Of Ritual," XXVI, 1979, pp. 2-22.

² Ibid pp. 18-19.

³ There is no shortcut for describing what is known as transformational or generative grammars. In order to prove my assertion that Staal's tree diagrams are irrelevant, I would have to provide a description of what transformational grammars are and what they do. But, since Staal knows that his diagrams are not applicable to any ritual I feel justified in leaving my assertion of irrelevancy at that. Nonetheless, there are many useful texts which describe modern linguistics and the continued controversy about the relation between syntax, semantics and phonology. Two such texts are, *Modern Linguistics*, by Neil Smith and Deirdre Wilson (Penguin Books: 1979), and *Linguistics*, by David Crystal (Penguin Books: 1971).

⁴ Ibid pp. 8-9, 19.

⁵ Ibid pp. 9-11.

⁶ As I have pointed out in note 3 above, the basic issue is the relation between syntax and semantics. From within generative grammar the problems, positions and a possible solution are presented in Ray S. Jackendoff, *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, (MIT Press: 1972). Anyone acquainted with the literature cited by Jackendoff will agree, I am certain, that Staal's attempt to construct a "syntax" of ritual based upon generative grammars is inadequate if not quite nonsensical.

⁷ I have reviewed some of the problems of this position in, "The Problem of Semantics in The Study of Religion," *Methodological Issues In Religious Studies*, ed. by, Robert Baird (Chico, Ca., New Horizons Press: 1975), pp. 79-93.

⁸ *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. I (New York: 1963), p. 241.

⁹ *The Raw And The Cooked*, (New York: 1970), p. 10.

¹⁰ Ibid p. 341.

¹¹ *Rethinking Symbolism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1975) p. 83. It is a pity that Staal did not use this text as a possible argument for his hypothesis. Sperber's main thesis is that symbols do not have "meaning." Historians of religion interested in symbolism should not overlook this text.

¹² I borrow this term from an excellent book by Tzvetan Todorov, *Theories Of The Symbol*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 162. All of the translations I have used are taken from Chapter 6, "The Romantic Crisis."

¹³ Ibid pp. 162-63, 198-206.

¹⁴ Ibid pp. 155-56.

¹⁵ Ibid p. 163.

¹⁶ Ibid pp. 163-64.

¹⁷ Ibid p. 173.

¹⁸ Staal, "The Meaninglessness of Ritual," p. 9.

¹⁹ Husserl remains one of the best critics of this idea and argues convincingly that it leads to epistemological skepticism and finally irrationalism. I have described his critique in, "Is Phenomenology A Method for the Study of Religion," *Bucknell Review*, XVIII, #3, (1970), pp. 29ff.

²⁰ Ibid p. 19. This hypothesis is expanded in Staal's, "Ritual Syntax," in *Sanskrit and Indian Studies*, eds., M. Nagatoni, B. K. Matilal, J. M. Masson, and E. Dimock (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 119-142. In this essay we find the following assertion: "But for Early Man, ritual was at least as important as language is for us. Ritual, after all, is much older than language. Unlike language, it can originate on all fours. It is common among animals." (p. 136). There is nothing new in this essay, in fact, some of the paragraphs and examples are identical with what was published as "The Meaninglessness of Ritual"!

²¹ E. D. Wilson, *Sociobiology* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1975), p. 224. The chapter is entitled, "Communication: Origins and Evolution." The text remains a rich mine of information on zoology whether we agree or disagree with Wilson's basic thesis.

²² See, Jean Piaget, *Structuralism*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970).

²³ Derek Bickerton, *Roots Of Language* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1981), p. 216-217.

²⁴ Ibid p. 220. This solution to the paradox, I must add, does not imply that Bickerton sides with the "unbridgeable gap" theory of language.

²⁵ Émile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, (Paris: 1966), p. 62.

²⁶ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course In General Linguistics*, (New York: 1966), pp. 66, 67.

²⁷ Ibid p. 113.

²⁸ Benveniste, *Problèmes*, op cit p. 51, 52.

²⁹ Roman Jakobson, *Six Lectures On Sound And Meaning*, (Sussex: The Harvester Press Ltd.: 1978) p. 111.

³⁰ Stephen Ullmann, *Semantics*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), p. 57.

³¹ See, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Structural Anthropology*, (N.Y.: Basic Books, 1963), pp. 206ff.

³² "The Story of Asdiwal," *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. II, (New York: 1976), p. 165. The history of the publication of "The Story of Asdiwal" is a story in itself. It was originally published in *l'annuaire 1958-1959 de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI Section*. It was reprinted in *Les Temps Modernes*, #179, 1961. This text was faithfully reproduced in, *The Structural Study Of Myth And Totemism*, ed., Edmund

Leach (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967). However, its republication in *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. II, reverses two of the oppositions in the "Integration Schema" (compare Leach, p. 19, with *Les Temps Modernes*, p. 1099 and *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. II, p. 163). The schema in Vol. II, is obviously the right one even though neither the translator nor the author alert us to the change. Also, the date for the publication of "Asdiwal" in *Les Temps Modernes*, cited in *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. II, is wrong. It should be 1961, not 1962.

³³ "Social Structure", *Structural Anthropology*, Vol. I, op cit p. 312-313.

³⁴ "The Meaninglessness of Ritual", pp. 21-22.

³⁵ For a good example of this, see John Lyons, *Introduction To Theoretical Linguistics*, (Cambridge University Press: 1968). The text is a very useful introduction. Lyons, however, moves backwards when he equates ritual with "how do you do." Ritualistic patterns of behavior from Lyons' point of view are equivalent to animal systems of communication, which are made up of ready made utterances used in particular situations (see p. 416). I doubt that Lyons has ever studied rituals, why should he? My point is that it is time for historians of religions to begin conversing with linguists. We obviously need each other to establish a more adequate theory of human nature.

THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF THE LEONTOCEPHALINE IN ROMAN MITHRAISM

HOWARD M. JACKSON

Although much scholarly attention has been devoted to attempts at its decipherment, the strange and often nightmarish lion-headed god of the Mithraic mysteries is still something of a mystery itself. Near consensus has been arrived at with regard to some of the problems involved, yet in the case of others widely divergent and conflicting solutions have been offered that still claim rival proponents. To be sure, no one can hope to resolve them all in the brief scope of an article. But sufficient evidence exists to allow at least some reasonably certain conclusions about what the leontocephaline meant to the Roman Mithraists and what function it served in their cult. It is to sorting out and presenting this evidence that what follows is addressed.

In interpreting the leontocephaline the classic view to which all studies respond, whether pro or con, is that of Franz Cumont.* In accordance with his theory that Mithraism in the Roman world was in large part directly of Iranian extraction, the great Belgian historian of religions considered the leontocephaline to represent Αἰών or Χρόνος as Κρόνος, though in fact, he held, these Greek names were but the Western equivalents for the creature's true identity as *Zurvān akarāna*, or boundless Time. He further held that, as in the Zurvanite system from which the deity as a cosmogonical abstraction, though not its peculiar Roman iconography directly derived, the leontocephaline was the supreme god of the Mithraic pantheon.¹ Cumont's view of the leontocephaline's Zurvanite origin and its supreme status in Roman Mithraism has lately been subjected to a good deal of criticism as arbitrary and unfounded on hard evidence.²

There are four interlocking problems involved here: 1) what the leontocephaline was named, 2) what it represented, 3) whence derive its complex of iconographic features, which are by no means uniformly the same in all examples,³ and 4) how it functioned in the

Mithraic cult. The first problem is the logical starting point. What may have been a leontocephaline (its head is missing and its body is not wrapped round by the usual serpent), found at York (*CIMRM* #833), is the only example (if it is one) out of several dozens to bear a dedicatory inscription (*CIMRM* #834) that may identify its subject. Whether indeed it does so depends, in turn, upon whether the key word *ARIMANIV* is restored as a nominative or as an accusative.⁴ On the provisos, however, that the statue represents a leontocephaline (it does have the usual wings and keys), that the crucial word is correctly restored, and that the word identifies the statue itself, the being's name was Arimanus, nominally the equivalent of Ahriman, the great Evil One of the Zoroastrian pantheon. In support of this admittedly shaky identification of the leontocephaline there are the facts that Arimanus is known from inscriptions to have figured as a *deus* in the Mithraic cult (*CIMRM* #369, an altar from Rome; #1773 with fig 461 and #1775, both from Pannonia) and to have been depicted by some kind of plastic image (*signum Arimanium*: *CIMRM* #222, from Ostia).

Some of those who stress this identification discover that the Mithraists were Iranian heretics who worshiped the Devil after all; others find themselves forced to deny the leontocephaline the supreme status in the Mithraic order that Cumont accorded him, since Ahriman could by no stretch of a Zurvanite imagination be *Zurvān akarāna* itself.⁵ Many struggle to explain how Ahriman might, in Roman Mithraism, have acquired a somewhat sweeter disposition and become affiliated with cosmic periodicity, both of which are alien to the Iranian deity but which are clearly implied by the iconography of the leontocephaline. This Ahriman-hypothesis follows Cumont at least to the extent that it assumes a direct Iranian derivation for the meaning of the leontocephaline and therefore tends to labor under the illusion that just because the deity of Roman Mithraism was named Arimanus it must consequently have been a quintessentially evil anti-god. This conclusion is vitiated by the observation that Ahriman's Western equation with Hades⁶ means that Ahriman is likely to have acquired associations which were originally quite foreign to him and that Arimanus might therefore have meant something quite different to Roman Mithraists from the purely Evil One of Zoroastrian and Zurvanite

contexts.⁷ Moreover, as I just pointed out, the deity's iconography often makes it unmistakably plain that the leontocephaline was not an utterly evil soul.⁸ At times his lion-head is distinctly benign (for instance *CIMRM* #1134 with fig 295); at other times the god has, like the famous Modena relief (*CIMRM* #695 with fig 197),⁹ a beautiful human face, whether young (*CIMRM* #777 with fig 211, from a Mithraeum at Merida in Spain, like the Modena relief in having the lion-mask on its chest) or old (*CIMRM* #1326 with fig 350, from Argentoratum, with the lion standing behind him, as also with the youth *CIMRM* #775 with fig 209, similarly from Merida). But those who insist on his malevolent nature for his identity with Ahriman and for his sometimes horrific leonine visage often derive his looks from Babylonian and Assyrian portraits of a hellish Nergal and his lion-headed demons.¹⁰

Whether or not the leontocephaline was in fact named Arimanus, there is general agreement among scholars that many of the most common attributes which the deity possesses suffice to identify it as what late antique texts often term a *κοσμοχράτωρ*, an astrologically conditioned embodiment of the world-engendering and world-ruling Power generated by the endless revolution of all the wheels of the celestial dynamo.¹¹ This inference based on the actual iconography of the figure is far more solid than extrapolations from any putatively total identity with an Iranian Ahriman. On this reckoning, the early identification of the god by Georg Zoega as Αἰών, an identification taken up in modified form by Cumont, certainly accurately reflects the deity's person, though it may not correctly express the name by which Mithraists knew him.¹² The attributes that serve to mark the leontocephaline as a *κοσμοχράτωρ*, the lord of the heavenly spheres and their immutable laws which govern the fate, the birth and the death of all living things in the world, are not so obviously the wings and the lion's head as other common traits. These are:

- 1) the zodiacal signs which, on some examples (*CIMRM* #545 with fig 153; #879 with fig 227), appear between the coils of the serpent that regularly encircle the god's body (less often his wings), or, as with the Modena Phanes, which appear in close conjunction with the leontocephaline (*CIMRM* #390 with fig 112, on the fresco in the cult-niche of the Barberini Mithraeum, Rome, in a position sug-

gesting his mastery over them); 2) the coils of the serpent themselves, which, like the related Egyptian symbol of the serpent οὐροβόρος, refer to celestial, especially solar cycles, and the earthly cycles of life and death governed by them;¹³ 3) the scepter that the god frequently holds and 4) the cosmic globe, sometimes girdled by the two bands of the ecliptic and the Milky Way, on which he often stands (*CIMRM* #382, #390, #543 with fig 152, #551 with fig 157, #1051, #1705 with fig 444, #2320 with fig 643, and restored in #545 with fig 153 and in #665 with fig 188), both of which attributes are standard late antique iconographic features of Sol/Helios as *κοσμοχράτωρ*. There is, finally, 5) the keys that the leontocephaline constantly clutches to his bosom. They are most logically to be interpreted as fitting (whether to open or to lock) the zodiacal and planetary gates through which souls descend into embodiment and ascend out of it, as Celsus, quoted by Origen (*Against Celsus* 6.22), and other Mithraic evidence suggests.¹⁴ Indeed, the name Arimanius—presuming that that was what the leontocephaline was called—well suits this function of the god, for of any associations alien to its Iranian prototype which the Western identification of Ahriman with Hades might have brought in its train, the translation of Hades to celestial stations, whether sublunar or full planetary, with its concomitant transformation into a halfway house for souls bound either for their supercelestial home or for re-embodiment,¹⁵ is surely a prime candidate for consideration, especially as the whole iconography of the leontocephaline reinforces the propriety of such an association. If, then, Nonnos' description (*Dionysiaca* 7.23) of Αἰών as ποικιλόμορφος, ἔχων κλητῖα γενέθλης, did not have exclusively the Mithraic leontocephaline in mind, the keys which Aion's Mithraic counterpart holds are nevertheless likely to have had a function identical with that assigned to them by Nonnos.

Cumont was clearly right, then, if only insofar as, like Zoega, he proposed that the Mithraic leontocephaline represents what, for example, the partly lion-headed Orphic Chronos-Heracles¹⁶ and the many other kindred abstractions and astrologized deities represented for late Roman minds. The typological multiplicity of representatives for celestial Eternity explains why some of the Mithraic figures can be human- (either young or old) and others

lion-headed, but both still represent the same reality. In the hodge-podge of theocrasies that were carried out to symbolize an astral Aion, two heavenly bodies—together, of course, with all the divinities associated with them—stood out as natural candidates for the job: Saturn/Kronos, in part on the basis of the old Κρόνος - Χρόνος equation,¹⁷ and Sol/Helios. Between these two celestial superpowers there existed, moreover, a “Chaldean” relationship which was close enough to guarantee that they could merge Aionic symbolism at the same time as they might also retain their individual status and iconographic peculiarities.¹⁸ In the Orphic cosmogony of Hieronymos/Hellanikos there are two Aion-figures, Chronos-Heracles and Phanes, ostensibly corresponding to Saturn and the sun, respectively, but the coalescence of the two exemplars is apparent even here, for if the Κρόνος - Χρόνος equation suggests a Saturnine orientation for Chronos-Heracles, Heracles’ close association with the sun through coordination of his twelve labors with the twelve zodiacal constellations implies a solar one.

The same confusion is equally evident in the case of the Mithraic Aion-figures, especially as there are not, as in the Orphic cosmogony just discussed, two fully distinct personages between which the prototypes might be chiefly apportioned, but only one. No hard and fast rules can be applied in attributing specific Mithraic figures to one astral prototype or the other. Those with a youthful human head might surely be taken to represent Helios iconographically (as the Modena Phanes is also Helios-Mithras), but though the old man of *CIMRM* #1326, of Nonnos’ *Dionysiaca* (7.24-25, 41.44; 41.179-182), and of Claudian’s cave of Time (*On the Consulship of Stilicho* 2.433-440) might therefore be an aged Saturn/Kronos as Chronos as Aion, one cannot conclude that those with a lion’s head must also automatically represent Saturn/Kronos, since the lion, insofar as it is an astrological symbol (the zodiacal constellation Leo), is a solar, not a Kronian emblem. The fluidity evident in the Mithraic iconography is obviously, then, due to an overarching concern to convey to the viewer what the figure *symbolizes*, not what particular deity it represents. Due to the name’s inevitable association, discussed earlier, with an astral Hades, even as Arimanus the leontocephaline need have represented no one single, particular deity. As an astrological con-

cept to which many deities could be and had been assimilated, Mithraic artists purposely and “pantheistically” conglomerated iconographic traits from the host of deities that had been identified in one way or another and for one reason or another with Sol/Helios and/or with Saturn/Kronos as the two great representatives of celestial Eternity. The choice between a leonine or a human head, in sum, was not governed by any essential difference in the identity of the Power symbolized by the figure as a whole but rather only, if anything, by the particular aspect of the exercise of that Power being stressed and by the setting in which the figure was to be placed and used, distinctions which do not allow the division to be made simply along benevolent/malevolent lines.¹⁹

Yet that in Mithraism the two astrological representatives of Aἰών were still distinct enough, as in the Orphic cosmogony of Hieronymos/Hellanikos, to warrant occasionally separate portraiture in nevertheless all but identical iconographic form is illustrated by the drawings which survive of the mostly lost Mithraic monument once in the house of one Ottaviano Zeno, Rome (*CIMRM* #335). On it two nude, snake-enwrapped, human-headed figures are shown, one winged and holding a staff, the other lacking these attributes. The former is flanked to the right and to the left by a series of blazing altars, three on one side and four on the other, which clearly symbolize the planets. The other figure stands at the end of the series of three altars. The winged, sceptered deity in the middle of the planet-altars is surely Sol/Helios as Aion, the normal position for the sun in the common order of the planets by distance from the earth; the other, who looks distinctly older, is Saturn/Kronos as Chronos as Aion, in his proper position at the extremity of the planetary series.²⁰ It means nothing that Saturn and the sun are, in effect, represented twice, once by an altar and again by an Aion-figure (Sol/Helios is actually represented three times, since Sol and Luna in their chariots form the borders of the scene, Sol next to Saturn-Aion, suggesting the sun’s “Chaldean” affiliation with Saturn, as on other Mithraic monuments, and Luna at the other end). The duplication means nothing because the anthropoid figures are first and foremost representatives of celestial Eternity, not the heavenly bodies themselves, nor even the deities associated with them, which had thrust themselves forward as ex-

emplars of this symbology. Equally useless, in this light, is the objection that the leontocephaline cannot represent Saturn/Kronos as Aion because the god Saturnus/Kronos frequently figures on Mithraic monuments.

Granted, then, that an understanding of what the Mithraic leontocephaline generally stood for may be garnered from the attributes which it most commonly possesses, one may rightfully demand the source and significance of the commonest and most decisive feature of all, the creature's lion-head. One tack has been to resort to the Orphic texts referred to earlier, for the interpenetration of Orphism and Mithraism is evident from the Modena relief, from the Housesteads monument, and from the Zeus-Helios-Mithras-Phanes inscription. A relationship between their respective Aion-figures (on the Orphic side Hieronymos/Hellanikos' Chronos-Heracles as much as Phanes) was already posited by Cumont, and it continues to be posited, with influence flowing from Orphism to Mithraism.²¹ Cumont based his argument largely upon a passage in the fourteenth century *Third Vatican Mythographer* (text: *TMMM* II 53-54) which portrays the god Saturnus holding in his right hand *draconem ... flammivorum qui caudae suea ultima devorat* (a somehow flame-spitting serpent οὐροβόρος), symbolizing the year, and Saturnus himself as an old man who can also be portrayed as a boy because every year his body grows old in winter but young again in spring. “He is also represented,” the text goes on,

“at one time with the face of a serpent because of the excessive cold, now with the gaping jaws of a lion because the heat is so exceedingly fierce, and then again with crests in the form of a boar’s tusks because of the frequent inclemency of the elements, which, as everyone knows, all (successively) assert themselves as the seasons change.”

Suppressing the third element in this passage, Cumont maintained that the Mithraic leontocephaline was originally bicephalic, snake and lion, and hence comparable to (he does not quite say derivable from) Damascius’ bull-, lion-, and human-headed serpent Chronos-Heracles.

The passage from the *Third Vatican Mythographer* is helpful in understanding some aspects of the Mithraic leontocephaline—why, for example, it can sometimes have the head of an old man and at other times that of a youth—for the passage represents a correctly

seasonal, if somewhat forced exegesis (in the inserted explanatory clauses) of the description which Martianus Capella, early in the fifth century, offers of Saturnus/Annus (on whom note Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.10) in *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* 2.197.²² But the process that Cumont sets up to get from the *Third Vatican Mythographer's* Saturnus to the Mithraic leontocephaline is artificial and untenable. It is clear both from the mythographer and from Martianus Capella that their Saturnus' heads do not subsist on his shoulders all at once, but follow one upon the other, in that they represent the change of seasons (the most transparent of which is the lion as a mid-summer constellation Leo), and correspond to father Time's rejuvenation. While the Saturnus/Kronos-Chronos-Aion equations and the solar Aionic symbology doubtless had a hand in this portrait of Saturnus, just as they did in that of the Orphic Chronos-Heracles, Phanes, and the Mithraic leontocephaline, Martianus Capella's attribution of a multiplicity of heads to Saturnus, though it involves some of the same animals for the same astrological reasons, accentuates a different and somewhat more limited aspect of the astral rulership of earthly affairs—seasonal change—than do his figure's Orphic and Mithraic counterparts. Even the suppression of Saturnus/Annus' boar's tusks does not make him look exactly like any one of his kin. His kin are comparable to him for symbolizing identical concepts (though stressing different expressions of it), but Martianus Capella's figure, or rather the tradition it represents, is not likely to have been the model either for the Orphic deities or for the Mithraic leontocephaline. It is hopeless to expect to prove derivation of any one of these figures from another; they are just as likely to be independent, contemporary responses to the same set of astrological pressures on late Roman mythography and religious iconography. Wikander's express effort to derive the Mithraic leontocephaline from the Orphic Chronos-Heracles by ridding the latter of his bull's head as an error of Damascius is no less arbitrary than Cumont's suppression of Saturnus/Annus' boar's tusks.

One thing, at any rate, follows pretty clearly from the comparison of the Mithraic leontocephaline with Martianus Capella's Saturnus and the Orphic deities, and that is that the Mithraic leontocephaline's lion-head, like that of the creator and astral

κοσμοκράτωρ Yahweh/Yaldabaoth of Gnostic sources,²³ is at least partially to be explained as representing the zodiacal Leo, the house of Sol/Helios, whose eternal world-ruling, world-creating course through the celestial zoo (note *PGM* I P 3.499-536 and 4.1636-1695, for example) the Mithraic deity as a whole, like all of his family, manifests in his welter of iconographic attributes. The many late antique contexts in which the lion occurs as a solar emblem make it very unlikely that the Mithraic leontocephaline's lion-head is any exception, especially as astrological symbolism plays such an important role in Mithraism. I have already mentioned some of these contexts in discussing the motif of serpent-enrapment (n. 13). The Oxyrhynchus leontocephaline (*CIMRM* #103 with fig 36) actually shows the figure's lion-head surrounded by nimbus and rays, and between its wings on the left side appears a lion with a star over its head. Both of these additions serve in this example to give the leontocephaline's head explicit solar associations. The lion's importance for the Mithraic Aion-figures and its emblematic character in conjunction with them are both apparent even from the human-headed figures, for, as I pointed out earlier, like the Modena Phanes and the Castel Gandolfo leontocephaline's midriff and knees (*CIMRM* #326 with figs 89-90), the chest of the youth-headed figure from Merida (*CIMRM* #777 with fig 211) is emblazoned with a large lion-mask, whereas the bearded old man from Argentoratum (*CIMRM* #1326 with fig 350) has the lion, like a pet, standing behind him.

In the light of the leontocephaline's role as a κοσμοκράτωρ, the keeper of the keys to the gates of the astral Hades and of the soul's fatherland, the overseer of its (re)birth or of its flight through the planetary spheres to sidereal immortality, what may connect the deity's lion-head even more securely with the zodiacal Lion is the involvement assigned to Leo in this drama by its Neo-Pythagorean exponent Numenius of Apamea in the second half of the second century. In fragments (#31 and 35 des Places) preserved by Porphyry and by Proclus, both of whom represent the myth as an allegorical interpretation of Homer's description of the cave of the nymphs in the *Odyssey* (13.109-112), Numenius holds that souls descend into embodiment from and reascend out of it back to their natural home in the Milky Way through two gates located at the

tropic extremities of the sun's annual course, at the zodiacal constellations Cancer and Capricorn, respectively. A third fragment (#34 des Places, from Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.12.4-5) adds the following additional information:

"So while the souls which are about to descend are yet in Cancer they are still in the company of the gods because in that constellation they have not yet left the Milky Way. But when in their fall they reach Leo they assume the primary form of their future state. ...From there—that is, from the borderland where the Zodiac and the Milky Way intersect—the descending soul is drawn out in its precipitous rush from a sphere, which is the only divine shape, into a cone, just as a line is born of a point, and evolves from an indivisible state into dimensionality."

At Leo, then—Sol/Helios' home—begins the realm of γένεσις, the dimensional, phenomenal cosmos; at the maw of the stellar Lion souls take their first step toward birth (their mystical death) in this world. As the lord of the celestial Hades, especially as the solar engineer not only of souls' fall through it to life on earth, but as well of their homeward flight through it back to the Milky Way, the Mithraic leontocephaline may therefore well have Leo's head. If any inspiration whatsoever from Neo-Pythagorean doctrine, however popular it may have been, seems an unlikely prospect for Mithraic iconography, it should be noted that continuity of tradition from the one to the other is not restricted simply to an astral mysticism, but extends to initiatory ritual and to the use of hypogea for their enactment.²⁴

Unless one accepts the irremediably evil nature of the Mithraic leontocephaline as Ahriman and its derivation from a leontocephalic Nergal or from his cohorts, similarly headed Babylonian and Assyrian demons, the search for an actual cult-figure after whom the deity's head might have been modeled inevitably turns to dredging the sands of Egypt. Indeed, in spite of the paucity of Mithraic monuments from Egypt (mostly from Memphis and Oxyrhynchos, though Alexandria is known from literary sources to have possessed two Mithraea and, moreover, a flourishing cult of Aion), attention has been directed there as a source for many of the iconographic features displayed by Mithraic leontocephalines, in particular by Raffaele Pettazzoni.²⁵ Though attested in Syrian contexts, the amplitude of Egyptian attestations suggest that the motif

of serpent-enrapment originated along the banks of the Nile. Moreover, many individual leontocephalines evince other unmistakably Egyptianizing iconographic attributes: the Egyptian loincloth has been noted on *CIMRM* #1326, for example, and, furthermore, the fact that, in addition to the stiff, hieratic posture typical of the leontocephaline, the Sidonian leontocephaline (*CIMRM* #78 with figs 29a-b) is unusual for holding his keys, as Egyptian gods do their ankhs (which the keys here resemble), in hands on arms hanging stiffly along his flanks. Pettazzoni himself focuses his argument principally upon the Castel Gandolfo leontocephaline.²⁶ Like many a Bes “pantheos,” whom Pettazzoni considers to have exerted great influence upon the iconography of the Mithraic leontocephaline, the Castel Gandolfo figure has four wings, four arms, an eye on his chest, and lion-masks on his knees;²⁷ beside him sits the (in this case) dog-, lion-, and jackal-(wolf?) headed “Cerberus” of Sarapis, a not unnatural companion for the Mithraic Aion-figure since the equations Sarapis = Helios = Aion were common, for which reason Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.20.13-15) can with some justification impose a learned temporal interpretation on his pet.²⁸

As far as the Mithraic figure’s lion-head is concerned Pettazzoni points to descriptions of the solarized Egyptian lion-god Mios as a lion-headed man.²⁹ Given the leontocephaline’s other iconographic connections with Egypt, Mios’ solar associations, and, through Nemesis, Kronos’ (as well as Helios’) affiliation with partially leonine sphinx “pantheos” figures (Sarapis’ “Cerberus” being a parallel development), this is a more attractive hypothesis than the attention it has received makes it appear. By the early third century the cult of Mios had grown far beyond its provincial setting in the Egyptian Delta; in A. D. 220 Leontopolis was populous and important enough to institute an ephebic ἀγών in honor of Elagabalus, the divine sponsor being “Ηλειος Λεόντιος, the solar Leo/Mios.³⁰ The lion as a solar emblem (zodiacal Leo), already involved in Mios’ cult, also fit in well with the contribution of Helios to the Aion-format, a fact which, as I said, accounts for the lion’s presence in the make-up of the Mithraic leontocephaline’s Orphic counterparts. Cumont is quite justified, then, in saying that the lion-headed man that the great Paris magical papyrus (*PGM* I P

4.2111-2117) recommends representing girded about the waist, holding a staff in one hand and with a serpent coiling around the other, “rappele absolument” the Mithraic leontocephalines;³¹ if anything, he does not go far enough. The fire which the magician further ordains his leontocephaline to have breathing from its mouth and which ties his figure to Mios and his mother Sekhmet is also an occasional feature of the Mithraic leontocephalines. This fire-kindling attribute is actually depicted on a relief from Rome (*CIMRM* #383 with fig 109), where the god’s breath kindles the flame of an altar; the same may be implied by a relief from Vienne (*CIMRM* #902 with fig 230). The holes that at times pierce the figure’s head right through from the back to the gaping mouth (so the Sidonian leontocephaline; the Roman figures *CIMRM* #543 with fig 152 and #544 with *TMMM* II #40 and fig 47; and the small bronze lion’s head, now at Liège, *CIMRM* #954 with fig 258E and *TMMM* II #316g) may have served somehow to illustrate this function, whatever it was that blew through the aperture.³²

But whatever the exact origin of the leontocephaline’s lion-head,³³ its full significance in a Mithraic form is another matter altogether. To begin with, the lion appears in a wide variety of different settings in Mithraic art, and its symbolic meaning is just as varied and as complex as it is in other, contemporary contexts. The lion figures, for example, as a companion of Sol, in which case one may be justified in holding it to represent the zodiacal Leo, just as the leontocephaline’s head partially does. But free-standing sculptures of a lion holding an animal’s head between its paws are also of frequent occurrence, a motif familiar from Roman sepulchral art (and, with a somewhat different meaning, on magic gems); in this instance the lion seems to symbolize the voracity of Death.³⁴ The lion is, then, in Mithraism as elsewhere, an ambivalent figure, and if, similarly, the leontocephaline’s head is sometimes frightening and evil-looking yet at other times benign, it is because the astral force he represents is equally ambivalent. The fatal power that oversees the subjugation of human souls to the constraints of embodiment and to the unpredictable ups and downs of Fortune dished out by its agents is at the same time that whose keys also guarantee the initiated soul escape into its solar eternity and universality.

One can scarcely doubt that the leontocephaline had some bearing on the Mithraic mysteries, and specifically for the Mithraic grade *leo*. I have already mentioned (in n. 32) tentative conclusions that have been drawn with respect to the significance an inscription from the Dura Mithraeum may have for linking initiation of *leones* with the leontocephaline's fiery breath. Other evidence also suggests such a link. To begin with, the portrait of the lion-headed human being who represents the grade *leo* on the famous Konjica relief (Dalmatia, *CIMRM* #1896 with fig 491) is not likely to be without some sort of relationship to the leontocephaline. Besides the outward resemblance of the Konjica representative of the grade *leo* to the leontocephaline, the two also share, firstly, association with Zeus/Jupiter. The thunderbolt appears both on or with the leontocephaline (*CIMRM* #312 with fig 85, from an Ostian Mithraeum; #665 with fig 188, at Florence) and as a symbol of the grade *leo* on the mosaic aisle of the Mithraeum of Felicissimus at Ostia (*CIMRM* #299 with fig 83; and note *CIMRM* #480.4 *Nama l[e]on/i/b/us/ tutela Iovis*, from the Santa Prisca Mithraeum). This association doubtless stemmed from the assignment of the zodiacal constellation Leo to the tutelage of Zeus (Manilius 2.433-452, for instance), perhaps with help, in the case of the leontocephaline, from the Syrian equation of Zeus with astrologized gods like Baal Shammem as lord of the heavens. Secondly, the Mithraic leontocephaline and the grade *leo* share an association with fire, which is natural enough for the lion as reputedly a fiery animal (Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals* 4.34; 12.7; *PGM I P* 4.939) and for the zodiacal Leo as a fire sign. As regards the leontocephaline, I have already mentioned its fire-blowing or fire-kindling abilities. Associations of the Mithraic grade *leo* with fire are common; the fire-shovel, for example, is shown as one of its symbols on the pavement of the Mithraeum of Felicissimus (*CIMRM* #299 with fig 83; note the fire-shovel's appearance with the leontocephaline: *CIMRM* #1123 with fig 291, on a relief from Heddernheim). Literary evidence is provided by Tertullian's statement, *Against Marcion* 1.13 (TMMM II 50): *aridae et ardentis naturae sacramenta Mithrae philosophantur*, and by Porphyry in *On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey* 15 (TMMM II 40):

"When those who are being initiated into the Λεοντικά have honey instead of water poured out onto their hands ia practice confirmed, it seems by *CIMRM* #2269 in *leo melichrisus*] to cleanse them with, (the officiators) exhort them to keep their hands pure of everything offensive, vicious or foul; because the *leo* is an initiate of fire, which purifies, they use a cleansing agent which is related to fire, rejecting water as antithetic to it."

Moreover, the famous lines from the Santa Prisca Mithraeum

accipe thuricremos, pater, accipe, sancte, leones per quos thuradamus, per quos consumimur ipsi

confirm that the Mithraic *leones* burned incense on behalf of the other members of the community, whom, *pace* W. Vollgraff, the *leones*, like good representatives of the voracious and fiery lion, by that act purified—"consumed," as the fire the incense.³⁵

If the leontocephalines as fire-breathers were possibly somehow the fonts of some fiery "baptism" for Mithraic *leones* and both, as involving the lion, automatically thereby embodied fire, the basis for the fiery and solar connections between the lion-headed Mithraic cosmocrator and the grade *leo* in specific relation to Mithraic initiation is evident from Porphyry's source's statement in *On Abstinence from Animal Food* 4.16 (*TMMM* II 42) that δέ τε τὰ λεοντικὰ παραλαμβάνων περιτίθεται παντοδαπάς ζώων μορφάς. It is difficult to accept, as Cumont seems inclined to do, the validity for the Mithraic initiation itself of the explanation that Pallas (in Porphyry) offers, namely, that the intent of the ritual was to teach that souls παντοδαποῖς περιέχεσθαι σώμασι, i.e., the doctrine of transmigration.³⁶ As his use of αἰνίττεσθαι here and his contrast of it to the "common opinion" show, Pallas was aware what the ritual meant for initiates, but, as a good Neo-Pythagorean, felt obliged to offer what to him is the "true and accurate conception" that the philosophically minded must hold of it. The "common opinion" over which Pallas seeks to exalt his own referred it to the zodiacal circle, and, as should be clear by now, the ritual must have been primarily designed to allow the initiates to join the sun, *Sol invictus* (= Mithras), and partake of his eternity and universality by sharing in his perpetual metamorphosis, but only secondarily, if at all, to inculcate the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.³⁷ The similarity of παντοδαπάς ζώων μορφάς with Hieronymos/Hellenikos' description (*OF* #54) of Phanes' serpent (much like the polycephalic serpent Chronos-Heracles and the polymorphous Yahweh/Yaldabaoth of the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John*)³⁸ as παν-

τοδαιπάῖς μορφαῖς θηρίων ἵνδαλλόμενον is not accidental, but directly attributable to the sun's zodiacal transformations, whether as an Orphic Phanes or a Mithraic *leo* (or a Gnostic demiurge). The Mithraic *leo*'s initiation, then, made him the companion of Mithras-as-Helios, exactly as the lion is constantly shown with Mithras in the tauroctony, on the hunt, at the feast with Sol.

It is difficult to know what exactly περιτίθεται means in reference to the leontic initiation, but the verb clearly implies investiture of some kind. I doubt that it refers, as some seem to think, to mimetic action, to the wearing of animal masks as portrayed on the Konjica relief, for the masks of the initiates on the relief belong to different grades. Rather, I incline to agree with Reitzenstein that it alludes to something like the *Olympiaca stola* of (in addition to?) the twelve initiate's robes, clearly zodiacal, with which Lucius was invested after his Isiac initiation in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.24; the robe was adorned with all sorts of animals, and it made him *ad instar Solis exornatus*.³⁹ But however that may be, in whatever respect the Mithraic leontocephaline was involved in the initiatory ritual for *leones*,⁴⁰ the text from Porphyry shows that the lion-headed figure represents that into knowledge of which the candidates were being initiated, precisely as Mithras himself, the initiate's guide and savior, is frequently shown ascending, his demiurgic work completed, in Sol's chariot to heaven, where he is greeted by the snake-entwined representative of celestial Eternity (*CIMRM* #1935 with fig 505, #1958 with fig 512, #1972 with fig 513, #2166, #2171 with fig 591, reliefs all from Dalmatia; and the Moesian relief *CIMRM* #2291 with fig 634b). Aion is, after all, his sire; the rock from which Mithras *saxigenus* is born is constantly shown girdled by the coils of the Aionic serpent. If the Aion who greets *him* is, as on the Ottaviano Zeno monument, always human-headed in these scenes, it is perhaps because a theriomorphic Aion was not appropriate to it, all the more as the figure is in the act of greeting his own son, and with a gesture ill-befitting the stiff posture of the inhuman leontocephalines. If, on the other hand, the vast majority of the Mithraic Aion-figures are leontocephalic, it is likely to be due precisely to their connection with the λεοντικά, with the rites that recapitulated this aspect of Mithras' experience for human *leones*. To judge from the literary evidence and the preponderance of in-

scriptural references to the grade *leo*, the leontic mysteries were of key importance in the Mithraic pilgrim's progress toward celestial bliss, an importance which Porphyry's division of the seven Mithraic grades into initiates μετέχοντες and initiates ὑπηρετοῦντες with the median *leo* the first of the former is held to underline.⁴¹ The importance of the λεοντικά would explain why the leontocephaline is such a prominent figure in Mitraism.

If Cumont⁴² is right in thinking that, as I argued earlier, the Mithraic mysteries reflected, on some level, the Neo-Pythagorean doctrine discussed earlier, that souls begin their embodiment at Leo, the house of the sun, the source of soul, then the leontocephaline's lion-head, as Leo, makes him, like Helios, all the more the lord of γένεσις. Porphyry's assignment (*On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey* 24),⁴³ to Mithras, γενέσεως δεσπότης, of a seat straddling the equinoxes with Cautes and Cautopates to his left and right presiding, torch up and torch down, over the ascent and the descent of souls, respectively, and the position of an "eighth gate" at the top of Celsus' κλίμαξ ἐπτάπυλος suggest that gates in the zodiac of fixed stars did form the outermost portals of the Mithraic cosmos. The leontocephalic Aion-figures presided lion-headed over the λεοντικά because the lion as zodiacal Leo, both generally as the house and representative of the sun, the source of all life, and specifically as that sign in which souls begin their descent into embodiment, oversaw the incarnation of human souls.

As for Gnosticism and its lion-headed Yahweh/Yaldabaoth:⁴⁴ there can be no question of deriving the Gnostic archon's leonine looks from the Mithraic leontocephaline, or vice versa; if anything, as with the Orphic Chronos-Heracles and Phanes, it is a matter of independent development of late Roman representatives of celestial Eternity on solar and/or Saturnine exemplars. The Gnostic and Mithraic figures naturally shared a similar function for symbolizing the same world-ruling, world-ensouling Power. As the highest planetary archon at Saturn's sphere Origen's Gnostics' Yaldabaoth, like the Mithraic leontocephaline with his keys, is chiefly overlord of the "gates of the rulers chained for eternity:"

"and thou, Ialdabaoth, first and seventh, born to have power with boldness, ..., I bear a symbol marked with a picture of life, and, having opened to the world the gate which thou didst close for thine eternity (αἰῶνι σῷ), I pass by thy power free again"

(Origen, *Against Celsus* 6.31).⁴⁵ But Hinnells wisely cautions against pressing the analogy too far; there is an important qualitative difference between the two figures in their respective settings that must not be overlooked. Gnosticism's world-view was certainly far more dualistic than Mithraism's can have been.⁴⁶ For the former, as for extremists in the Judaeo-Christian tradition generally (cp. Eph 6:12), the planetary powers that rule this world are irremediably evil; the Gnostic mystic whose encounter with Yaldabaoth Origen preserves must use magical means to compel the opening of a gate locked by its guardian for the whole age of his ascendency. The Gnostic's salvation comes from a realm beyond and in opposition to that overseen by Yaldabaoth and the rulers, whose order and willful oppression of the human spirits in their grip must be overthrown by the intervention of a Savior utterly alien to this world.

This cannot have been true for the Mithraic leontocephaline. Because its Aionic cosmocrator represented a fatal Power essentially identical with Yaldabaoth's in that it served to ensoul the cosmos and to subject all that lives to the laws of Τύχη and Εἰμαρμένη, Mithraism, like many another late antique religion, cannot have been totally optimistic about just how beneficial that Power is for the soul's well-being. As in Orphism confinement in a body somehow spells death for the soul, and hence the leontocephaline's face may often be frightening, its leonine head the symbol of that "death." But this does not mean that Mithraism was necessarily as totally pessimistic as Gnosticism was; documents like the contemporary Hermetic tract *Kore Kosmou* show that the two attitudes toward cosmogenesis may subsist, however unreconciled, side by side. The fact that the Mithraic initiatory grades are under the tutelage of deities long correlated with the planets and that links exist which connect the leontocephaline with the leontic initiation indicate that the planets, far from opposing the soul's quest for freedom, as they do in Gnosticism, actively participated in it. The leontocephaline, as the distillation of celestial power, cannot, then, have been an irredeemably oppressive force but, as it embodied souls, so it might aid—by initiation and not by compulsion—in freeing them from that embodiment. This could be so for Mithraism because the leontocephaline has strong solar associa-

tions, if it may not be said to be a representation of the sun, and the sun, both as an independent figure and as an hypostasis of Mithras, is a fully divine being in the cult of the Romanized Iranian god, and intimately involved in Mithraic soteriology. In Gnosticism, on the other hand, the sun is just another subordinate ruler (*νυκτοφαής δεύτερε*—after Yaldabaoth—’Ιάω in Origen’s Gnostics’ system) and, so far as I know, except in Manichaeism is never endowed with a role in the process of salvation.

Institute for Antiquity and Christianity,
Claremont, California

HOWARD JACKSON

* References to journals, reference works, etc., appear in their standard abbreviations. The following require special mention:

TMM = Franz Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* I and II; Brussels, 1899 and 1896

CIMRM = M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* I and II; The Hague, 1956 and 1960

PGM = Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* I and II; 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1973 and 1974

OF = Otto Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*; Dublin/Zürich, 1972 [1922]

¹ Franz Cumont, *TMM* I 74-85; “Aion,” PWSup 1.38.63-68; *The Mysteries of Mithra* (trans. T. McCormack; New York: Dover, 1956 [1903]) 105-110; and most recently “The Dura Mithraeum,” published posthumously (trans. and ed. E. D. Francis) in *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* I (ed. John R. Hinnells; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975) 169-206, especially pp. 170-171; and Marcel Le Glay, *LIMC* s.v. “Aion”.

² Note particularly R. L. Gordon, “Franz Cumont and the doctrines of Mithraism,” *Mithraic Studies* I 215-248, especially pp. 217, 221-224.

³ One may find an analysis of the iconographic features of all existing leontocephalines, together with a survey of the debate up to that point and sensible conclusions, in John R. Hinnells, “Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure in Mithraism,” *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg* I (AI 4; Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Panlavi, 1975) 333-369. Not even the creature’s head is invariably that of a lion; it is occasionally human. In these few cases, then, the term ‘leontocephaline’ is obviously something of a misnomer, but they are identifiable as belonging to the same genre as the leontocephalines proper because they all possess one or more of the other crucial attributes: the serpent-entwined body, the wings, the clutched keys.

⁴ Cumont (*TMM* II #474) naturally read the crucial name of the York inscription as a nominative because this restoration preserved his identification of the leontocephaline with *Zurvān akarāna*. In this case Arimanus would be the name of the dedicant. For *CIMRM* #834 Vermaseren restores the nominative. Reinhold Merkelbach, “Die Kosmogonie der Mithrasmysterien,” *ErJb* 34 (1965) 242, restores a dative, reading *Vol(usius) Ire(naeus) d(eo) Arimani(o) v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]*.

⁵ F. Legge, "The Lion-headed God of the Mithraic Mysteries," *PSBA* 34 (1912) 125-142 with pls 13-19; 37 (1915) 151-162 with pls 18-19; *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity from 330 B. C. to 330 A. D.* (New Hyde Park, New York: University Books, 1964 [1915]) 254-255; Merkelbach, "Die Kosmogonie der Mithrasmysterien" 242-243; Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Ahriman et le dieu suprême dans les mystères de Mithra," *Numen* 2 (1955) 190-195; "Aiōn et le Léontocephale, Mithra et Ahriman," *La Nouvelle Clio* 10 (1958-1960) 91-98; *Symbols and Values in Zoroastrianism. Their Survival and Renewal* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) 111-117; R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955) 19, with the retraction in the preface, pp. viii-ix; "Postscript to *Zurvan*," *BSOAS* 17 (1955) 237-243; *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (New York: Putnam, 1961) 129-130. The attempt made by Zaehner to derive the iconography of the leontocephaline from Iranian or Iranian-influenced sources (as, for example, Mani's description of Satan as preserved by al-Nadim, a description already compared with the Mithraic leontocephaline by Heinrich Junker, "Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung," *VBW* [1921-1922] 147) cannot be pronounced successful. On the York statue and for a critique of this whole tack see Mary Boyce, "Some Reflections on Zurvanism,"

BSOAS 19 (1957) 314-316; Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965) 230-232; "The Mithraic Mysteries in the Greco-Roman World with Special Regard to their Iranian Background," *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano (AANL, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura*, 76; Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1966) 441-442, defending Cumont's *Zurvan*-hypothesis; Gordon, "Franz Cumont and the doctrines of Mithraism" 221-223; Hinnells, "Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure" 335-343; Hubertus von Gall, "The Lion-headed and the Human-headed God in the Mithraic Mysteries," *Études Mithriaques. Actes du 2^e Congrès International, Téhéran* (AI 17; Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1978) 511-525 with pls 29-32, in particular pp. 518-520.

⁶ Diogenes Laertius, prologue 8; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 46, 47 (*Moralia* 369E, 370B-C).

⁷ So R. L. Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman society. Social factors in the explanation of religious change in the Roman Empire," *Religion* 2 (1972) 96 with n. 23.

⁸ Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* 232, remarks: "Zu der Behauptung, der löwenartige Charakter der Gottheit kennzeichne diese als böse, ist übrigens ganz grundsätzlich zu sagen, dass es mehr als eingenartig ist, hier eine Identifizierung mit einem bösen Gotte auf der Löwen-Eigenschaft aufzubauen zu wollen," because the Mithraic grade *leo* and the use of the lion in other iconographic contexts makes this unthinkable. I will return later to this perhaps less subjective reason for the impossibility that the leontocephaline was totally a malevolent deity.

⁹ It is generally accepted that the Modena figure represents the Orphic Phanes, for many features of the relief match descriptions of the god in late Orphic sources (the Hieronymos/Hellanicos cosmogony: *OF* #54 from Damascius and #56 from the apologist Athenagoras, c. A. D. 180). But a Mithraic synthesis seems confirmed by the inscription (*CIMRM* #696) which appears in the bottom corners of the monument and which identifies the dedicant Felix as a Mithraic *pater*; like the Mithraic leontocephaline, moreover, but unlike Phanes according to the Orphic sources, the Modena figure's body is wound several times round by the coils of a huge serpent whose head rests on the cone (egg-shell?) over the god's head. For the Orphic-Mithraic connection note Franz Cumont, "Mithra et l'orphisme," *RHR*

109 (1934) 63-72 with pl 1, in the context of a discussion of the dedicatory inscription to Zeus-Helios-Mithras-Phanes (*CIMRM* #475, from Rome); Martin P. Nilsson, "The Syncretistic Relief at Modena," *SO* 24 (1945) 1-7; Ugo Bianchi, "Protagonos. Aspetti dell'idea di dio nelle religioni esoteriche dell'antichità," *SMSR* 28 (1957) 115-117. The identity of Mithras with Phanes is also illustrated by a relief (*TMM* #273d with fig 315; *CIMRM* #860 with fig 226) from Housesteads, England, which shows Mithras hatching, like the Phanes of Orphic sources, from an egg within the circle of the zodiac. On Mithras and Phanes as gods of light and the Zeus-Helios-Mithras-Phanes inscription note further Margherita Guarducci, "Il graffito *natus prima luce* nel mitreo di Santa Prisca," *Misteria Mithrae. Atti del seminario internazionale su 'La specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia'* (ed. Ugo Bianchi; *EPRO* 80; Leiden: Brill, 1979) 160-162. The debate over the identity of the Modena figure—Phanes, Mithras, Aion—merely illustrates their mutual solar equivalence. The same debate has centered around similar late antique representations of youths in zodiacal circles; the study by Doro Levi, "Aion," *Hesp* 13 (1944) 269-314 with many illustrations, is excellent. See further *Mosaïque romaine tardive. L'iconographie du temps. Les programmes iconographiques des maisons africaines* (ed. Yvette Duval; Paris, 1981); Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) 158-161 with pls 155-157, 167.

¹⁰ So, for example, A. D. H. Bivar, "Mithra and Mesopotamia," *Mithraic Studies* II 275-289 with pls 7-9, especially pp. 277-279, 282-285; von Gall, "The Lion-headed and the Human-headed God" 515; and H. J. W. Drijvers, "Mithra at Hatra? Some remarks on the problem of the Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism," *Études Mithriaques* 151-186 with pl 12, on the lion-headed Nergal-relief from Hatra on which Bivar bases part of his argument. Already Cumont held to an Assyrian genealogy for the leontocephaline's looks because to him too the figures are "toujours repoussants" (*TMM* I 75) and because the lion-head "ne rappelait sans doute plus aux initiés que le pouvoir destructeur du Temps qui dévore toutes choses" (*TMM* I 79). This view is shared by M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1963) 121-122, with help from Arnobius' hostile and sensationalizing description, *Against the Heathen Nations* 6.10; it stems from the lion's well-deserved reputation as a devourer and from the contribution of Kronos, the devourer of his children, as Chronos as Aion to the leontocephaline's symbolic make-up. Those who endorse the leontocephaline's evil nature extrapolate from its position at Heddernheim a theory about its exclusion from view in all Mithraea. This theory cannot be sustained; see Hinnells, "Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure" 348-349.

¹¹ For an excellent treatment of Mithraic astrological and cosmogonical symbolism see R. L. Gordon, "The sacred geography of a *mithraeum*: the example of Sette Sfere," *JMS* 1 (1976) 119-165; pp. 123-124 and 132 with n. 69 bear upon the leontocephaline.

¹² Levi, "Aion" 276, 292-297; Ernest Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain. Contribution à l'histoire de l'art de l'empire romain* (Paris: de Boccard, 1955) 186-188; Hinnells, "Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure" 356-358, 364-367; Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* 117; Duchesne-Guillemin, "Aïon et le Léontocéphale" 95; Leroy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* (EPRO 11; Leiden: Brill, 1968) 298, 348, who calls it *Deus aeternus*, by which he means Αἰών.

¹³ Literary references to serpent-enwrappment are few, actual representations more common. Among the former are Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.17.67, describing a

statue in Syrian Hierapolis, with 69 and 58-59 for Macrobius' interpretation, which refers the image to the course of the sun through the zodiac. Note further *PGM I P* 4.2115-2116 of a human figure with a lion's face and 4.1636-1695 of a solar μέγας "Ορις. For the Egyptian motif of the serpent οὐροβόρος note especially that which Claudian, *On the Consulship of Stilicho* 2.424-430, imagines circling the cave of Time; Servius, *Commentary on Vergil's Aeneid* 5.85, and Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1.1-2, are explicit about its solar meaning. The solar serpent οὐροβόρος occasionally has the head of a lion, whose reference here one is justified in surmising to be at least in part to the zodiacal Leo, the house of the sun: René Mouterde, "Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objects et inscriptions magiques de Syrie," *MUSJ* 15.3 (1930) 72, with Ἰάω πάντων δεσπότης inscribed inside it; A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1964) #500 (p. 330); further A. Delatte, "Études sur la magie grecque I. Sphère magique du Musée d'Athènes," *BCH* 37 (1913) 262-263. For actual depictions of figures wrapped in the coils of a serpent note:

- 1) the frequency of this attribute in depictions of Sarapis' three-headed (mostly canine, but occasionally partly leonine) pet "Cerberus;" Wilhelm Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* (EPRO 32; Leiden: Brill, 1973) 91-95 with pls 4-8, 14-18, especially 25-30, and many others; Isidore Lévy, "Sarapis V. La statue mystérieuse," *RHR* 63 (1911) 139-141; Willibald Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit. Archäologisch-ethnologischer Streifzug durch die Ikonographie der Religionen* (Bonn: Dümmler, 1948) 129-131 with pls 42-43, figs 118-122; R. Pettazzoni, "Il 'Cerbero' di Sarapide," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire II* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1949) 803-809, following Macrobius' interpretation of the beast (*Saturnalia* 1.20.13-15) in tying it to the Alexandrian cult of Aion;
- 2) Sarapis' "Cerberus" cousin the Egyptian sphinx-deity (often "pantheos") *Twtw* in his popular hellenized form Τίθοης (or Totoës or the like), as portrayed on a relief from Amphipolis in Thrace: Ch. Picard, "La sphinge tricéphale, dite 'panthée,' d'Amphipolis et la démonologie égypto-alexandrine," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Piot* 50 (1958) 49-84 with pl 8; Henri Seyrig, "Tithoës, Totoës et le sphinx panthée," *ASAE* 35 (1935) 197-202; further Octave Guéraud. "Notes gréco-romaines II. Sphinx composites au Musée du Caire," *ASAE* 35 (1935) 4-24; Serge Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoës," *JNES* 19 (1960) 269-287 with pls 8-16; Ladislas Kákosy, "Reflexions sur le problème de Totoës," *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts* 24 (1964) 9-16; Adolf Rusch, "Tithoës," *PW* 6A. 1512.14-53;
- 3) mummiform figures of Osiris or Sarapis depicted on late Roman magic gems: Delatte-Derchain, *Les intailles magiques* #90-91 (p. 76) and #172 (pp. 134-135), with pp. 73-75 in explanation; further Richard Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898) #16-18 (pp. 14-21), #23 (p. 34), #34 (p. 45); and Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1950) #148 (pl 7, p. 277), illustrating similar themes; generally L. Kákosy, "Osiris-Aion," *OrAnt* 3 (1964) 15-25 with pl 41;
- 4) the famous bronze, mummiform cult statue related to the last entry but found in the sanctuary (late 2nd century) of the Syrian gods on the Janiculum, Rome, a youthful, human-headed figure wrapped seven times round (as often, ostensibly planetary in meaning) in the coils of a serpent, with seven eggs laid between them (= the planets, spawn of Aion?): see, most recently, Volkmar von Graeve,

“Tempel und Kult der syrischen Götter am Janiculum,” *JDAI* 87 (1972) 314-347, in particular figs 1-2 (p. 315) and pp. 335-338, 347, remarking (pp. 337-338) on the meaning of the snake-enwrappment: “Sie bezeichnet den gewundenen Lauf der Sonne durch die Planeten” and referring to Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.17.69; Marcel Leglay, “Sur les dieux syriens du Janicule”, *MEFR* 60 (1948), 129-151, especially pl 1 and pp. 130-139;

- 5) the Egyptian or Egyptianizing relief, found at Rome, which depicts a man (headless now) with a two-headed serpent wrapping itself around his body and resting one head on each of the man’s shoulders: Franz Cumont, “Une représentation du dieu alexandrin du Temps,” *CRAI* (1928) 274-282; included as Mithraic in *CIMRM* as #419 with fig 116, but lacking all the other common attributes of the assuredly Mithraic leontocephalines; and, finally,
- 6) the young male figure in stiff, hieratic posture depicted on a gold leaf, along with standard *voces magicae*, found at Ciciliano: M. J. Vermaseren, “A Magical Time God,” *Mithraic Studies* II 446-455 with pl 16; similarly listed *CIMRM* #168, but, though the figure does hold a key, seemingly more akin to the figures shown on magic gems than to the Mithraic leontocephaline.

¹⁴ Robert Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes* II (Munich: Beck, 1910) 440-442; Hinnells, “Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure” 356-357 with n. 83; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* 254; and Cumont, *TMMM* I 84-85, on Janus as *claviger*. Von Gall, “The Lion-headed and the Human-headed God” 517-518, takes the keys to be properly “the figural expression of his character as a guardian and tutelary god of the temples” and thus only generally to refer to the mysteries, but this is less in accord with the meaning of the whole figure itself. In the vision, described Rev 1:13-18, of a man whose face shines like the sun, whose eyes radiate fire, who holds the seven stars and the keys of death and Hades, and who is First and Last, Hugo Gressmann, *Die hellenistische Gestirnreligion* (BAO 5; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925) 24, rightfully sees a *κοσμοχράτωρ*, however earlier and however Jewish-Christian, of the sort (and with many of the same features with related symbolic significance) that we have been discussing in somewhat later Orphic and Mithraic contexts. For keys to the gates of celestial/infernal realms note the Fates as *χλειδοῦχοι* presiding over the locks of the gates of birth, life and death, in Plutarch, *On Socrates’ Daimonion* 22 (*Moralia* 591B); *PGM* I P 3.541-542; and especially 4.340-342 ‘Ανθύδη κραταῖ· ... τῷ τὰς χλεῖδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ’ Αἰδου. Delatte-Derchain, *Les intailles magiques* #115 (p. 95) and #294 (pp. 215-217), show representations of Anubis holding the key; Siegfried Morenz, “Anubis mit dem Schlüssel,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 1 (1953-1954) 79-83 with figs 1-5, discusses others, some involving Bes, who in this respect functions as Anubis. On the passage Origen, *Against Celsus* 6.22, see Robert Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus. Recherches sur l’hellenisation philosophique de Mithra* (EPRO 47; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 44-61; Gordon, “The sacred geography of a *mithraeum*” 142-145. For a general treatment of the descent and ascent of souls through the planetary spheres and its relationship to the seven Mithraic grades see Gordon, “Mithraism and Roman society” 97-98, 100-102.

¹⁵ Popularized in the Roman world by the Stoics and by the Neo-Pythagoreans, this old idea of a sidereal afterlife became a commonplace. The location of Hades in the heavens is implicit in Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.719-751; it is explicit in, for example, Cornutus 5, 35; Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.12.3; and especially in Plutarch, *On the Face in the Moon* 27-28 (*Moralia* 942E-943E); *On Socrates’ Daimo-*

nion 22 (*Moralia* 591A-C), a passage just cited in n. 14 for the role that keys play for the gates to such a Hades; and *On Isis and Osiris* 78 (*Moralia* 382E-383A), where Osiris' realm is equated with this heavenly purgatory, an equation which makes understandable how the snake-enwrapped Osiris-, Sarapis-, and other figures with sepulchral connections discussed in n. 13 can also have celestial meaning.

¹⁶ *OF* #54, 57; *Orphic Hymn* 12 (to Heracles). 1, 3, 11-12, with *Hymn* 8 (to Helios). 13. A. D. Nock, "The Genius of Mithraism," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* I (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972; reprinted from *JRS* 27 [1937] 456 n. 24, notes that "the art-cycle of Mithras' achievements has a certain analogy to the 'Ηρακλέους πράξεις.'

¹⁷ Waser, "Chronos," PW 3.2481.25-2482.53; Roscher, "Chronos," Roscher's *Lexikon* 1.899.14-900.14; Ziegler, "Orphische Dichtung," PW 18.1324.10-14; 1326.23-27; Seeliger, "Weltschöpfung," Roscher's *Lexikon* 6.474.1-479.42; Mayer, "Kronos," Roscher's *Lexikon* 2.1546.38-1548.48; Pohlenz, "Kronos," PW 11.1986.49-66; Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* II 382-387; Jean Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie. Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes* (2nd ed.; Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1976) 126, 157, 328-335.

¹⁸ For the sun's "Chaldean" affiliation with Saturn note, for example, Diiodorus Siculus 2.30.3 and F. Boll, "Kronos-Helios," *ARW* 19 (1916-1919) 342-346. The connection is suggested on some Mithraic monuments (*CIMRM* # #693 and 1727).

¹⁹ On the human- as opposed to the lion-headed figures, with gratuitous theories (stemming from Cumont, *TMMM* I 75-76) as to the development of one type out of the other, note Levi, "Aion" 284-291, 305-306; René Dussaud, "Le dieu mithriaque léontocéphale," *Syria* 27 (1950) 253-260, particularly p. 255 (for Dussaud's view of the origin of the leontocephaline's lion-head see his "Anciens bronzes du Louristan et cultes iraniens," *Syria* 26 [1949] 223-225); R. D. Barnett, "A Mithraic figure from Beirut," *Mithraic Studies* II 466-469 with pl 32a-b; and especially von Gall, "The Lion-headed and the Human-headed God" 519-525. Ugo Bianchi, "Prolegomena. The Religio-historical Question of the Mysteries of Mithra," *Mysteria Mithrae* 39-40 (similarly pp. 41, 44-45) contrasts the "'noble'" human-headed type with the "'ontologically inferior'" leontocephaline proper, whose name was Arimanus and who was only a doorkeeper.

²⁰ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* IV. *Le monument d'Ottaviano Zeno et le culte de Mithra sur le Célius* (EPRO 16; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 50-53 with pls 11-17. Zoega, as cited by Vermaseren (p. 52), thought the two figures were Time and his son Aion, which is essentially correct; Vermaseren points out, however, that "en tout cas il semble certain que l'artiste a voulu représenter deux figures différentes du même dieu, en qui nous sommes habitués à voir le dieu du Temps éternel." Von Gall's comments, "The Lion-headed and the Human-headed God" 523-524, are not very helpful.

²¹ Cumont, *TMMM* I 75 and n. 5; A. D. Nock, "A Vision of Mandulis Aion," *HTR* 27 (1934) 79 n. 78; Bianchi, "Protagonos" 115-133; Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* II 405-448 and beyond; Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* 123-125, on the Modena relief, proposing that the Felix who dedicated it was first a member of an Orphic conventicle and later, as a Mithraic *pater*, rededicated it to Mithras; Dussaud, "Le dieu mithriaque léontocéphale" 254; and especially Stig Wikander, *Études sur les mystères de Mithras* (Lund: Gleerup, 1950) 33-36.

²² On this passage from Martianus Capella, as well as that in *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* 1.70, where Saturn/Kronos-Chronos is also conjoined with the tail-biting serpent, see Waldemar Deonna, "Le Saturne à l'ouroboros de Mar-

tianus Capella," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1954) 103-107; "La descendance du Saturne à l'ouroboros de Martianus Capella," *SO* 31 (1955) 170-189; Jean-G. Préaux, "Saturne à l'ouroboros," *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* (ColLat 28; Brussels-Berchem: Latomus, 1975) 394-410; William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E. L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts* II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977) 60. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* II 389 n. 2, refuses the passage from the *Third Vatican Mythographer* any Mithraic connection, restricting its reference to the Orphic Chronos.

²³ The sources are:

- 1) Celsus (c. A. D. 180) as cited by Origen, *Against Celsus* 6.30, and Origen himself in 6.30, 31, 33;
 - 2) the famous Brummer gem, showing on the obverse a lion-headed male figure, one of whose names, inscribed beside him, is ΙΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ (Campbell Bonner, "An Amulet of the Ophite Gnostics," *Commemorative Studies in Honour of Theodore Leslie Shear*; HespSup 8; Athens, 1949; 43-46 with pl 8. 1; *Studies in Magical Amulets* # 188 [pl 9, p. 284] with pp. 135-138);
 - 3) *Pistis Sophia* 1.30-31, 32, 39, 47, 48, 50, 52, 55; 2.66 (Carl Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften I. Die Pistis Sophia. Die beiden Bücher des Jeū. Unbekanntes altnostisches Werk*; GCS 45[13]; 3rd. ed.; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962; an English translation now by Violet MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*; NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978);
 - 4) CG (Codex Cairensis Gnosticus) II, 1 *Apocryphon of John* 10[58].8-9 (Martin Krause and Pahor Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*; ADAIK, Koptische Reihe, 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962; 109-200; Søren Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis*; ATDan 5; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963); CG IV, 1 *Apocryphon of John* (Krause-Labib, *Die drei Versionen* 201-255), the other example of the long recension, is in lacuna at the corresponding point; CG III, 1 *Apocryphon of John* 15.10-11 (Krause-Labib, *Die drei Versionen* 55-108) and BG (Codex Berolinensis Gnosticus) 8502, 2 *Apocryphon of John* 37.19-21 (Walter C. Till and Hans-Martin Schenke, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*; TU 60²; 2nd ed.; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972), the two examples of the short recension;
 - 5) CG II, 4 *Hypostasis of the Archons* 94[142]. 16-17 (Bentley Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons," *HTR* 67 [1974] 351-425 and 69 [1976] 31-101);
 - 6) CG II, 5 *On the Origin of the World* 100[148].24-26 (Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labib, *Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi*; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962; Hans-Martin Schenke, "Vom Ursprung der Welt. Eine titellose gnostische Abhandlung aus dem Funde von Nag Hamadi," *ThLZ* 84 [1959] 243-256);
 - 7) Mandaean *Ginza*, Rechter Teil, 12.6 (277.31-280.7 Lidzbarski; note that Lidzbarski's "des Adlers" for the cosmocrator's head is an error for "lion's:" Kurt Rudolph, *Theogonie, Kosmogonie und Anthropogenie in den mandäischen Schriften*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965; and n. 5);
 - 8) Manichaean *Kephalaion* 6 (30.17-31.2; 33.9-10, 18, 25, 33 Polotsky-Böhlig), 27 (77.22-78.3 Polotsky-Böhlig); *Psalm to Jesus* 248 (57.16-18 Allberry; cp. *Psalm of Thomas* [11]; 216.14-217.17 Allberry; *Psalm of the Bema* 223; 9.31-10.19 Allberry); and Ibn al-Nadim's description in the *Fihrist* (Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim* II; New York: Columbia University Press, 1970; 778).
- ²⁴ See, for example, Jérôme Carcopino, *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Magneure* (Paris: L'Artisan du livre, 1926), particularly pp. 211-216.
- ²⁵ "La figura mostruosa del Tempo nella religione mitriaca," *AnCl* 18 (1949)

265-277 with pls 1-7, also published in *AANL*, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, 15 (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1950) 6-16 with pls 1-7. An English translation of most of this article appeared as "The Monstrous Figure of Time in Mithraism" in *Essays on the History of Religions* (trans. H. J. Rose; SHR [Numen-Sup] 1; Leiden: Brill, 1954) 180-192 with pls 6-12. Dussaud, "Le dieu mithriaque léontocéphale" 256-257, and von Gall, "The Lion-headed and the Human-headed God" 516, are too superficially critical of this view; they do not take sufficient cognizance of the effect that the Egyptianizing rage, endemic in the Roman world by the late second century, exercised in many areas. On Egyptian influence note further Will, *Le relief culturel gréco-romain* 189-192; Cumont, "Une représentation du dieu alexandrin du Temps" 277-278; Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* 125-127; and particularly Hinnells, "Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure" 365, in an attempt to account for the prominence of leontocephalines at Rome: "The iconographic connections were such as to attract the lovers of esoteric teachings and ritual with the deliberate attempt to recall the Egyptian or Egyptianizing monuments so well known in Rome." It is also significant to note for the connection of Egyptian iconography with Mithraism the appearance of a sistrum as one of the symbols for the grade *leō* in the Ostian Mithraeum of Felicissimus; for a discussion of the significance of this symbol see R. L. Gordon, "Reality, evocation and boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras," *JMS* 3 (1980) 35-36.

²⁶ Hinnells, "Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure" 347, is suspicious of the relevance of the Castel Gandolfo figure to the study of the strictly Mithraic leontocephalines because, even though it possesses many of the attributes most typical of the Mithraic deity (lion's head, snake entwinement, wings, scepter), it is atypical in other respects. It was not found in a specifically Mithraic setting. Hinnells (p. 346) objects to the Modena Phanes' relevance on much the same grounds, choosing to stress its Orphic affiliation. The trouble is that many of the other representations which Hinnells does accept as specifically Mithraic also possess atypical characteristics, and while the strict division of Aion-figures into categories Mithraic and non-Mithraic is obviously important, the eclecticism of late Roman paganism (to which the Mithraists are known to have formed no exception) and the commonality of Aion-symbolism forbid an exclusion of questionably Mithraic or definitely non-Mithraic figures from consideration in judging the meaning of the Mithraic figures, as Hinnells himself agrees.

²⁷ On this last attribute note the essay by A.-J. Festugière, "Les cinq sceaux de l'Aïon alexandrin," reprinted in *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* (Paris: Vrin, 1972) 201-209 with pl 3 and added notes by E. Coche de la Ferté and J. Vandier. For depictions and discussions of the Bes "pantheos," whose wild aggregation of bellicose attributes naturally includes many leonine, see, for example, G. Daressy, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, N°9401-9499. *Textes et dessins magiques* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1903) pls 1-10 with pp. 1-3, 15-37; "Bes," *RÄRG* 101-109; A. Piankoff, "Sur une statuette de Bès," *BIFAO* 37 (1937) 29-33 with the pl; Henri-Charles Puech, "Le dieu Bésa et la magie hellénistique," *Documents* 7 (1930) 415-425. Portraits on gems are fairly common.

²⁸ For Egyptian connections of the Mithraic leontocephaline Pettazzoni's article "Kronos-Chronos in Egitto," *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont* (ColLat 2; Brussels: Latomus, 1949) 245-256, is of interest in discussing 1) Kronos' identification with Anubis, whose keys, mentioned earlier, then become even more comparable to those held by the Mithraic leontocephaline, 2) Saturn's being called in Egypt the "star of Nemesis," a fact which nicely puts Kronos-Chronos on a par

with Nemesis' γρύψ and with Twtw-Tίθοης (see n. 13) and which brings him iconographically into contact with the lion, and 3) Egyptian knowledge of the "Chaldean" Saturn-sun connection in the context of Nemesis' solar associations through the ancient tradition of the sun, like Yahweh (cp. Mal 3:20-21), as a god πανεπόπτης and righter of wrongs. Kronos' identification with Anubis is due to his confinement in Tartarus and his consequent lordship over the realm of the dead, a realm which, in a manner commensurable with the celestial translation of Hades, means the whole world: see Albrecht Dieterich, *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891) 76-83; S. Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," *Mélanges Bidez* (Brussels: Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales 2; Brussels: Secrétariat de l'Institut, 1934) 351-360, commenting on *PGM I P 4.2315-2317, 3087-3124*, and other passages.

²⁹ "La figura mostruosa del Tempo," *AnCl* 18 (1949) 269, followed by Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain* 189. As for the leontocephalic Mios note his depiction on the famous Abbott gem, with a long invocatory prayer: Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* #283 (pl 13, p. 300), discussed pp. 183-185; Paul Perdrizet, "Antiquités de Léontopolis," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Piot* 25 (1921-1922) 357, fig 2, with p. 359; and generally Constant de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden: Brill, 1951) 16-34, 71-82, 85-90, 230-234, 276-280; "Miysis," *RÄRG* 468; Alexandre Piankoff, "Nefer-Toum et Mahes," *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933) 99-105; Paul Perdrizet, "Une fondation du temps de Ptolémée Épiphane: le temple du dieu Lion, à Léontopolis," *CRAI* (1922) 320-323; "Antiquités de Léontopolis" 349-385; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Ein Denkstein aus Leontopolis," *Rec-Trav* 36 (1914) 174-176 with pl 8. As the Abbott gem indicates, Mios was a powerful figure in the *demi-monde* of late Roman magic; he is lurking behind the lion-headed Helioros (i.e., Helios-Horus) described *PGM I P 4.2111-2117* (a passage already referred to in n. 13 for its inclusion of the serpent-enwrappment motif). Explicit references may be found in the great Demotic magical papyrus (F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus. An Egyptian Magical Book*; New York: Dover, 1974 [1904]; 70-73) and, under the guise "Miothilamps," on curse tablets from Cyprus (Augustus Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*; Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1967 [1904]; #22.46-47//24.27-28//26.33-34//29.31-32//30.37-39//31.30-31//32.32-33//33.35-37; further Preisendanz, "Miôthilamps," PW 15.2028.25-45).

³⁰ The long inscription was published by Marcus N. Tod, "An Ephebic Inscription from Memphis," *JEA* 37 (1951) 86-99 with pl 8; it has been expertly commented upon by Jeanne and Louis Robert in the "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 65 (1952) #180 (pp. 190-197).

³¹ *TMMM II* 57. So too Dieterich, *Abraxas* 53-54, remarking: "Es kann kaum eine bessere Interpretation dieser Bildwerke (the Mithraic leontocephalines) geben als unsre Papyrusstellen ...," by which he means, in addition to the passage Cumont cites, that other from *PGM I P 1* which concerns the leontocephalic Helios-Horus.

³² Cumont, *TMMM I* 80-81. Cumont connects the fiery breath which the Mithraic leontocephaline is shown spewing and may actually somehow have spewed from its mouth with the fiery breath which, according to the Magi as reported by Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse* 36.47-48 with 43-44, once descended from the horse of elemental fire at the chariot of Zeus and consumed the world. In the posthumous report on "The Dura Mithraeum" 204-205 he refers this attribute of the leontocephaline to a Mithraic baptism of fire on the basis of a graffito from the Mithraeum (*CIMRM* #63 as corrected in *CIMRM* II p. 14) which speaks of a

πυρωτὸν (πυρωπὸν Cumont) ἀσθμα τὸ (ò Cumont) καὶ μάγοις ἦ (instead of ἦ) νίπτρον ὁσ<σ>ίω[ν]; Gordon (“Mithraism and Roman society” 100 n. 41; “Reality, evocation and boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras” 36) connects this baptism of fire with initiation of Mithraic *leones*. Fire-breathing is an ability commonly granted astral deities, especially those of Egyptian origin (like the decans) who had a retributive function; note, for example, Wilhelm Gundel’s remark on a decan’s possession of this ability in an Oxyrhynchus fragment of a Hellenistic Egyptian astrological manual: “Das Feueratmen und das feurige Gesicht sind typische Attribute der hellenistischen Gestirngötter.” (*Dekane und Dekansternbilder. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sternbilder der Kulturvölker*; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969 [1936]; 96 n. 1). Rev 9:17 is influenced by such conceptions.

³³ John Hansman, “A Suggested Interpretation of the Mithraic Lion-man Figure,” *Études Mithriaques* 215-227; “Some Possible Classical Connections in Mithraic Speculation,” *Mysteria Mithrae* 607-608, proposes that the Mithraic leontocephaline in all its various forms is the visual reproduction of Plato’s famous parable of the tripartite structure of the human soul offered in the ninth book of the *Republic* (588B-589B).

³⁴ Hinnells, “Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure” 352-354; and earlier in “Reflections on the bull-slaying scene,” *Mithraic Studies* II 301-302.

³⁵ Hinnells, “Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure” 361-364; Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* 264-266, 309-310; Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus* 69-70; M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1965) 156-157, 224-232 with fig 70 (p. 215) and pl 69.1; W. Vollgraff, “Le rôle des Lions dans la communauté mithriaque,” *Hommages à Léon Hermann* (ColLat 44; Brussels-Berchem: Latomus, 1960) 777-785; Bianchi, “Prolegomena” 53-54; Gordon, “Mithraism and Roman society” 99-100; “Reality, evocation and boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras” 36-37. Note particularly Concetta Aloe Spada, “Il *leo* nella gerarchia dei gradi mitriaci,” *Mysteria Mithrae* 642-643, on the Santa Prisca verses and the connection between the grade *leo* and the leontocephaline; in her judgment, “Anche se ... è forse eccessivo vedere con Hinnells nel *leo* ‘the earthly counterpart to the cosmic being depicted with a lion’s head,’ non siamo distanti dal vero—ci sembra—se affermiamo l’esistenza di un rapporto tra il personaggio a volto leonino e il grado di *leo*” on the basis of the Konjice relief alone.

³⁶ Cumont, *TMMM* I 40, 309 and n. 6, 315 and n. 5. Gordon, “Mithraism and Roman society” 97 n. 26, is similarly sceptical.

³⁷ A similar difficulty surrounds Origen’s characterization (*Against Celsus* 6.33) of a part of Celsus’ report of his “Ophite” Gnostics as further tales ὡς τινῶν εἰς τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς μορφὰς ἐπανερχομένων, so that some become lions, others bulls, and yet others dragons, or one of the other animals represented by the archontic powers. Henry Chadwick (*Origen: Contra Celsum*; Cambridge: the University Press, 1965; 349 n. 4) opts for the view that this statement reflects the functional content of some Gnostic ritual, offering as a probable explanation the supposition that “the Ophite initiates wore masks shaped according to the animal forms of the Archons.” He points to the existence of theriomorphic grades in Mithraism and texts like Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Animal Food* 4.16 (*TMMM* II 42) and a passage in “Ambrosiaster” (*TMMM* II 7-8), which intimate the ritual use of masks. Theodor Hopfner (“Das Diagramm der Ophiten,” *Charisteria Allois Rzach zum achtzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht*; Reichenberg: Stiepel, 1930; 89), on the other hand, refers the passage to the doctrine of transmigration: “Jene Seelen, die nicht die nötige

Zauberkraft besassen und des weiteren Aufstiegs noch nicht würdig waren, wurden in irgend einem ‘Tor der Archonten’ zurückgehalten und ‘musssten,’ wie Celsus (VI 33) sagt, ‘zu Löwen, Stieren, Schlangen, Adlern, Bären oder Hunden werden,’ d.h., sie mussten auf die Erde zurück um dort in diesen Tieren wiedergeboren zu werden, denn ‘den engen Wiederhinabstieg’ erwähnt Celsus selbst (VI 34).³⁸ The use of the verb ἐπανέρχεσθαι is better suited to Hopfner’s view, though, as in the case of Pallas’ remarks on the Mithraic λεοντικά, Celsus’ statement may reflect a secondary, philosophically oriented, interpretive stratum overlying some ritual δρώμενα. Admittedly, little enough exact is known about cultic practice in Gnostic sectarianism, but, so far as I know, the ritual use of masks is otherwise unattested for it.

³⁸ Both in the long recension, CG II, 1; 11[59].35-12[60].3//CG IV, 1; 18.26-19.1, and in the short, CG III, 1; 18.9-12//BG 8502, 2; 42.10-13.

³⁹ Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1921) 167-169, who brands Pallas’ opinions as “die Klügeleien eines theologischen Philosophasters” (p. 168); Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* 309; Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus* 36-38; Robert Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1966 [1925]) 316-328, in the context of a good, far-ranging discussion, accepts Pallas’ transmigrational explanation as valid for the Mithraic mysteries themselves and interprets the leontic investiture as a successive donning of masks.

⁴⁰ New inscriptional evidence also suggests the possibility of some connection between the leontocephaline and the initiation of Mithraic *leones*. If the *leonteum*, *cum signo et cetero cultu exornatum*, of which an unedited Mithraic inscription from San Gemini in Umbria (Umberto Ciotti, “Due iscrizioni mitriache inediti I,” *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* I; ed. Margreet B. de Moer and T. A. Edridge; EPRO 68; Leiden: Brill, 1978; 233-239 with pl 28) commemorates the erection by a group of *leones*, refers to a cult-niche or shrine and the *signum* to a representation of the leontocephaline, as the Ostian inscription CIMRM #222 with its reference to a *signum Arimanium*, and as the fact that the leontocephaline CIMRM #1123 with fig 291 was found in a niche in Mithraeum III at Hedderheim suggest they do, then some special connection between the Mithraic *leo* and the leontocephaline is established. On this inscription note further Aloe Spada, “Il *leo* nella gerarchia dei gradi mitriaci” 647-648. For the relationship between the Mithraic leontocephaline and the grade *leo* the inscription that forms the title of a paper by Silvio Panciera (“LEONI SANCTO DEO PRAESENTI” [continued on the stone by A. CAECILI FAUSTINI], *Misteria Mithrae* 127-135) may also be relevant. Though presently displayed at the entrance of the Barberini Mithraeum, the inscription is neither certainly from it nor certainly Mithraic, and Panciera seeks to explain its reference as a dedication to some lion-god from the East: to Mios, or to the (Syrian) Heliopolitan god γενναῖος referred to by Damascius in his *Life of Isidorus* (Photius, *Library* 348a-b), or to the lion-god, whoever he or she is, to whom, along with other gods, an inscription (*Σειμίω καὶ Συμβετόλω καὶ Λέοντι θεοῖς πατρώοις*), dated A. D. 224, dedicates the construction of an olive-press with funds from a second century sanctuary in a humble northern Syrian village now Kafr Nabo. Ugo Bianchi (“Prolegomena” 28-29, and cp. pp. 54-55), however, considers the inscription Mithraic, a possibility which Panciera does not rule out: “Relazioni con il culto mitriaco, dopo quanto si è detto, come non possono essere provate, neppure vanno escluse” (“LEONI SANCTO” 134). According to Bianchi A. Caecilius Faustinus is a newly initiated *leo* and the *leo sanctus, deus praesens*, either another initiating *leo* in whom “a divine personage” is “incorporated” and “manifested” or else “the

divine counterpart, the divine ‘twin’ or *genius* of the very neophyte lion himself.” Neither of these explanations seems likely to me; if the inscription is Mithraic at all, I think what Bianchi barely suggests, namely, that the god-lion in question is the leontocephaline as patron of the leontic initiation, is the most reasonable solution. The adjective *praesens*, as applied to a *deus*, means here, as often, “present” in the sense of “aiding, favoring, propitious,” and the Latin genitives, in my view, are to be explained as the result of the strict equivalence of *praesens* (upon which they thus depend) with Greek ἐπίχροος which governs that case and of which the dedicant may actually have been thinking.

⁴¹ On this two-fold division of the grades and the importance of *leo* see, for example, Aloe Spada, “Il *leo* nella gerarchia dei gradi mitriaci” 639-648; Scherling, “Leontika,” PW 12.2041.20-39; Gordon, “Reality, evocation and boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras” 32-33.

⁴² TMMM I 40 and n. 2.

⁴³ TMMM II 41. Consult the revised text published as *Arethusa Monographs I* by the Department of Classics, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1969; 24.9-15, and the convincing emendation proposed at one troublesome point in the passage by Roger Beck, “The seat of Mithras at the equinoxes: Porphyry, *De Antro Nymphaeum* 24,” JMS I (1976) 95-98.

⁴⁴ Treated by Hinnells, “Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure” 358-360; Bianchi, “Protagonos” 126-129; and especially his “Mithraism and Gnosticism,” *Mithraic Studies II* 457-465, with a long and detailed discussion of the York monument.

⁴⁵ Chadwick’s translation, *Origen: Contra Celsum* 347.

⁴⁶ Note too Gordon’s remarks in “Mithraism and Roman society” 112.

APOLLO LAIRBENOS

KEVIN M. MILLER

In Phrygia, at the ancient city of Hierapolis, modern Pamukkale, and some eighteen miles away on a bluff overlooking the Meander River are vestiges of a local cult of Apollo, that of Apollo Lairbenos. The evidence consists of inscriptions *in situ* at the still unexcavated sanctuary on the bluff, the sanctuary itself, inscriptions carried from their original sites to neighboring villages, two reliefs, coins of Hierapolis, and the temple of Apollo in Hierapolis which, although excavated in the 1960s, tells very little about Apollo Lairbenos.

Indeed, it looks as if Hierapolis adopted Lairbenos rather late in its history, sometime in the second century at the earliest, and as if before that time the cult was either associated with the town of Motella or with no town at all. But since Hierapolis was the most important town of the region and is the one about which we know the most, it is fitting to discuss briefly the background of the town which eventually adopted Apollo Lairbenos.

Little is known of the early history of Hierapolis. When the site was first inhabited is unknown, but the earliest inscription from it is one in honor of Apollonis, the mother of the Pergamene king Eumenes II, on her death. Apollonis certainly died after 183 B.C.,¹ probably between 167 and 160 B.C.² Hierapolis began to issue bronze coins during the second century B.C.³ It may have been after one of several recorded earthquakes, the worst of which occurred in A.D. 60,⁴ that the city attained its present form. The name, like the shape of the city, also changed. On coins issued until the Augustan era the name is Hieroplis, or "Templeville."⁵ When this became "Holy City," Hierapolis, is not known.

Hierapolis sits atop a plateau about two miles north of the Lycus River. Mineral deposits from the numerous springs and streams in the area have built the plateau over a period of several thousand years. The whiteness of this huge, solid encrustation has given the city its current name, Pamukkale, or Cotton Castle.⁶ The warmth of the mineral-bearing springs led to the construction of baths and

to the establishment of a tourist trade, and Hierapolis seems to have enjoyed a prosperous commercial life. The city was famous for its dyed wool which, because of the minerals in the water, rivalled wool dyed with genuine purple mussel.⁷ There were guilds of "wool-workers, carpet-weavers, and purple-dyers."⁸

The guilds are especially evident in the necropolis, which contains over 1,200 tombs.⁹ Often a sum of money was left in charge of one of the guilds with the stipulation that the interest be used to lay a wreath on the tomb annually.¹⁰ Most of the tombs consist simply of sarcophagi and their bases, but there are some tumuli, which may be of Hellenistic date.¹¹

Whether or not Hierapolitan marble really was quarried at nearby Thiounta,¹² Hierapolis received credit for its export. Strabo describes the marble as *ποικίλη*,¹³ and it may have taken its variegated coloring from permeation by the mineral bearing waters.¹⁴ It was used for sarcophagi,¹⁵ and Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that the remains of Justinian's wife, Theodora, were held in a "magnificent" sarcophagus of Hierapolitan stone in the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.¹⁶ Other commercial enterprises recorded in inscriptions are nail-making and coppersmithing.¹⁷

Most of the structures of Hierapolis are of the Roman period. The main street is straight and runs, for a little more than a mile, at a nineteen degree angle from southeast to northwest. At either end it once passed through a monumental gateway, the northern one dedicated to Domitian in 84-85.¹⁸ Aside from private houses, a nymphaeum, a theater, baths, churches, and the temple of Apollo lined the main street. The large theater lies 275 yards east of the main street and the stage faces due east.¹⁹ The baths lie across the main street from the theater at a distance of about 500 yards, or slightly more than one quarter of a mile. Between the theater and the baths, but next to the main street, are the nymphaeum and, south of it, the temple of Apollo.²⁰

The front of the temple is parallel to the street and thus faces southwest. Because the ground slopes away to the southwest the front part of the temple is on a podium seven feet high, although the back part rests on solid rock. The temple was erected with reused material in the third century at the earliest.²¹ The temple is

unusually short (60 by 45 feet) and the cella is actually broader than it is long.²² Some of the reused blocks bear the text of an oracle Apollo gave when a pestilence was afflicting Hierapolis. Apollo recommends sacrifice to various deities, but especially to Apollo Clarios and to Apollo Careius.

There are several surprising things about this oracle. First, in recommending sacrifice to Apollo Clarios and to Apollo Careius Apollo says:

ἐξ γὰρ ἐμεῦ γένος ἔστε χολισσούχοι τε Μόφου.²³

Mopsos is the legendary seer and grandson of Tiresias who is connected with the oracle of Apollo at Claros, which belonged to the Colophonians.²⁴ Careius had a sanctuary on Mount Torrhebus in Lydia, and Torrhebus the son of Atys appears on coins of Hierapolis from about the middle of the second century.²⁵ But of all the delegations which visited the popular oracle of Claros in imperial times, there is no record of one from Hierapolis.²⁶

The second curious thing is that the oracle gives little attention to the pestilence, its stated theme.²⁷ The third surprise is the strange fate of the blocks which bear the oracle. They were reused as building material so that the oracle was no longer legible. One of them was entirely hidden when it was placed on its left side in the foundation of the southeast side of the cella.²⁸ The other two became the cornerstones of the north corner of the cella.²⁹ Perhaps the oracle was never intended for this temple, or perhaps the blocks were damaged in an earthquake or subsequent reconstruction. If the text was recopied it has not been found.³⁰

Directly under the temple lies a main tourist attraction, the Plutonium. When Strabo visited the Plutonium he made no mention of a temple above it:

... the Plutonium, below a small brow of the mountainous country that lies above it, is an opening of only moderate size, large enough to admit a man, but it reaches considerable depth, and it is enclosed by a quadrilateral hand-rail ... and this space is full of vapour so misty and dense that one can scarcely see the ground. Now to those who approach the handrail anywhere round the enclosure the air is harmless, since the outside air is free from that vapour in calm weather ... but any animal that passes inside meets instant death. At any rate, bulls that are led into it fall and are dragged out dead; and I threw in sparrows and they immediately breathed their last and fell. But the Galli, who are eunuchs, pass inside with such impunity that they even ... descend into it to a certain depth ...³¹

Dio Cassius observed on his visit that the vapor destroyed all living creatures, and he also tested it with birds.³² When Richard Chandler visited Hierapolis in May 1765 he too searched for the Plutonium:

... an old Turk, with a beard as white as snow told me he knew the place, that it was often fatal to their goats; and, accounting for the effect, said it was believed to be the habitation of a demon or evil spirit. We ascended again early in the morning to the theatre, where he had promised to join us; and a live fowl was intended to be the martyr of the experiment. But we met this day with some unexpected interruption which made us leave Hierapolis in haste ...³³

Testing the Plutonium with birds seems to be perennially popular. George Bean went to the Plutonium most recently in 1970. He says that although the vapors are not fatal they "catch the throat and bring tears to the eyes. A single good sniff incapacitates for some minutes."³⁴ On a visit in the 1960s Bean observed a dead sparrow in the courtyard and in 1970 a sign had been erected which labeled the Plutonium the Pit of Evil Spirits.³⁵

Aside from the usual homes and shops of a town of Asia Minor, a visitor to the temple of Apollo might have seen an unusual number of dyeing and wool-working businesses nearby, for there were a number of springs and streams close to the temple. The theater was only about 220 yards away and, to judge from its large size, the performances must have been popular. The courtyard about the entrance to the Plutonium was adjacent to the foundation of the temple, and one can imagine a vendor of fowl with which to test the potency of the vapors. Since the temple is almost directly between the baths and the theater, it probably stood on an intersection of the main street and one connecting the baths and the theater, although the site reports do not indicate this. Such a corner would have been a good place to catch tourists.

The temple of Apollo Lairbenos lies some eighteen miles north-east of Hierapolis, but the distance by road must have been greater. It too occupies a naturally impressive and wild site on a ridge above the fast flowing Meander, which at this point is only about thirty feet wide³⁶ and passes through a narrow gorge of bare cliffs³⁷ about 165 to 220 yards high.³⁸ The ridge rises from the south bank of the river and a "broad ravine" separates it from the plateau which

stretches away to the south.³⁹ Thus, the ridge stands alone. The approach from the north was probably by way of a path from a bridge across the river and up the south side of the hill, and the approach from the south probably followed the upper course of the ravine. In either case, the last lap must have been up the eastern slope of the sanctuary hill, “for any other approach involves arduous climbing.”⁴⁰

The temple is not on the highest point of the ridge. Rather, the eastern end of the building lies 92 yards west of the high point and 98 yards lower. Consequently, the view from the eastern end is blocked, beyond about 45 yards of level ground, by a very steep hillside.⁴¹ When the editors of *MAMA*, IV visited the site, they thought that there had been a portico on the west end of the building,⁴² so it is possible that the temple may have faced west. The foundations of retaining walls mark the north and south edges of the temple area, within which stand three inscribed pedestals.⁴³ The function of the small building (11.5 by 6.8 yards) which stood 29.5 yards west of the temple is unknown, but conjecture is that it housed initiation ceremonies or ceremonies at which confessions were heard.⁴⁴

The temple building itself measures about 13 by 29.5 yards⁴⁵ and is about one yard narrower and eleven yards longer than the temple of Apollo in Hierapolis⁴⁶ and only a little smaller than the temple of Hephaistos at Athens. The indications are that the decoration was rich and elaborate and that the roof was tiled:

[Δ]όχιμος Δομιτί·
 [α]ς Σεβαστῆς δοῦ·
 [λ]ος Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρ·
 μηνῶ ἀνέθηκεν
 5 [χ]εραμειδᾶς δέ·
 [χ]α καὶ εἰς τὴν χρύ·
 σωσιν τοῦ παθνω·
 ματικοῦ * ωβ'.

MAMA, IV, 293

The date is about A.D. 90; Domitia was the wife of Domitian. Παθνωματικός is a metathesized spelling of φατνωματικός and means coffered.⁴⁷ About eleven yards southwest of the smaller building the editors of *MAMA*, IV found a limestone cornice with foliated

brackets and decoration in low relief. The three surviving panels depict, from left to right, a four-petaled flower, a heart-shaped vine leaf, and a double-axe. Each panel has an egg-and-dart border on the top and sides.⁴⁸

There were several statues around the temple. The following dedication shows that the square pedestal⁴⁹ on which it was inscribed originally supported a statue of Apollo Lairbenos which the god had ordered Charixenos to set up.

'Απόλλων[α]
Λαιρμηνὸν θεὸν[ν]
ἐπιφανῆ κατὰ ἐπ[ι-]
ταγὴν Χαρίξενο[ς]
5 Μενεκλέους [Δ]ιο-
νυσοπολείτη[ς.]

MAMA, IV, 277 A I

At the small building west of the temple an inscription has been found which dedicates a statue of Apollo the Warder-off-of-Evil to Helios Apollo Lairbenos. The purpose of such a dedication of a statue of one god to another is not known. The date is 164.⁵⁰

'Ηλίω 'Απόλλωνι Λαιρμη-
νῶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ (leaf)
ἀλεξικάχου 'Απόλλωνος
Παπίας Παπίου Δημητρί- (leaf)
5 ου Παπίου Μοτεληνὸς
[δ]ινέθηκε (leaf) ἔτους σμθ'
μηνὸς Πανήμου ζ'.

MAMA, IV, 275 A

Another pedestal, described as an altar, supported statues of victory dedicated, probably before A.D. 124, to Helios Apollo Lairmenos.

θεῶ 'Ηλίω 'Απόλλωνι Λαιρμη-
νῶ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
τῶν Μοτεληνῶν 'Απολλώ-
νιος 'Ιεραπολείτης ὁ καὶ Κρούλε-
5 θὺς τὰς Νείκας ἀνέθηκεν
μετὰ τῶν τέχνων 'Αλαζόνος
καὶ 'Απολλωνίου.

MAMA, IV, 276 A I

An emancipation dated 124/5 is on the left side of this same altar, and Robert argues that it was probably added after the dedication and that the dedication was made in 124 or earlier.⁵¹ From this inference and from his judgment that the style of the inscription is of the Roman imperial era, Robert concludes that Hierapolis did not control the sanctuary during the Hellenistic period.⁵²

Granted that in the course of several centuries the condition and allegiance of the sanctuary likely changed, it seems probable that Hierapolis did not have control over it until the second century A.D. If a Hieropolitan made, in 124 or earlier, a dedication both to Apollo Lairmenos and to the people and council of Motella, then the conclusion that at that time the sanctuary belonged with Motella is reasonable.⁵³ In addition, the only direct evidence, apart from inscriptions at the sanctuary, for associating Apollo Lairbenos with Hierapolis is his appearance on that city's coins, and these coins are probably from the second century or later.⁵⁴ Perhaps, therefore, Apollo Lairbenos became an "official" god of Hierapolis only after control was extended to include the temple territory and perhaps only then was there a cult of Lairbenos in Hierapolis.

The city did eventually control the region about the temple. This is clear from a decree which indicates that in the third century the city's territory extended into the great curve of the Meander at least as far as Thionta, the modern town of Gözler (Eyes).⁵⁵ The decree was for the protection of villages against extortion by police officers, *παραφύλακες*, of Hierapolis, who were to provide some sort of protection themselves. The *παραφύλακες* are ordered to visit villages at their own expense, and to be furnished only firewood, straw, and lodging. If, as it seems, their range came up to the edge of the plateau across the river from Motella, it included the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos.⁵⁶

On the other hand, it is not clear with what town, if any, the sanctuary was affiliated before. Ramsay identified the sanctuary as the site of the village Atyochorion and asserted that it was under the control of Dionysopolis, which he associated with Ortaköy, three miles to the south, but Robert argues convincingly to the contrary. According to Ramsay, "the name of the sacred village Atyochorion proves that Atys or Attis must have played an important part in the cultus of the *hieron*, though his name never occurs in the inscrip-

tions.”⁵⁷ This assertion that, since Attis was often an element of “old Anatolian names,”⁵⁸ the place name attests his worship despite a complete lack of evidence, simply does not hold water.⁵⁹ The following inscription from Badinlar tells us that Apollonios financed construction of a portico at the sanctuary, that he was a native of Atyochorion,⁶⁰ and that he knew his Homer.⁶¹ It offers no reason to think Attis was worshipped at the sanctuary or that it was named or controlled by Atyochorion.⁶²

Μητρὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλ-
λωνι Λυερμηνῷ Ἀπολλώ-
νιος Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Ἀ-
πολλωνίου Ἀτυοχωρεί-
της ὑπὲρ Λαομέδοντος
καὶ Εἰφιανάσσης τῶν τέ-
κνων τὴν στοὰν ἐκ
τῶν ἴδιων ἐποίησε.

JHS, IV, p. 383, no. 5

If, as is likely, the Apollonios in the following inscription is the same as the one in the preceding inscription, and if his descendants were building a tomb at Zeive, then he probably lived at Zeive, which thus becomes a possible location for Atyochorion.⁶³ Of course, it is also possible that the stone was carried eight miles.⁶⁴

'Απολλωνίω Μηνοφίλου
τῶ διὰ γένους [...]ει
τοῦ Σωτῆρος [Σ]ειλή[ν]ου
ἢ θυγάτηρος Εἰφ[ιαν]ά[σ]ση
5 καὶ 'Απολ[λώ]νιος καὶ
Πα[ս]λεῖν[ο]ς κα[τ] Δημήτριος
ο[ι] ἔγγο[ν]οι τὸ ἡρῶν κα-
[τεσ]χ[εύ]ασαν.

JHS, IV, p. 383, no. 6

Although the location of Dionysopolis is uncertain, there is reason to believe it was not Ortaköy. Apart from coins, the name Dionysopolis appears only in three inscriptions.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεραπολειτῶν
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Διονυσοπολειτῶν
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Βλαυνδέων

καὶ τὸ χοινὸν τοῦ Ὑργαλέων
 5 πεδίου ἐτείμησαν
 Κόιντον Πλαύτιον Οὐενοῦστον. *MAMA*, IV, 315

This one, found at Bekilli, at least indicates the general region of Dionysopolis because the four cities were evidently neighbors. The name's second epigraphical appearance is in an inscription discussed above, *MAMA*, IV, 277 A I. Finally, an epitaph found on the north bank of the Meander at Üçkuyular reads, with considerable restoration:

‘Ρηγεῖν]ος Ἀσκληπιάδου Δ[ιονυσο]πο[λ]εί
 τῆς καὶ Τάτα [ἢ γυνὴ αὐτ]οῦ ‘Ρηγείνω ιδίω τέχ[νω] χάριν
 CB, p. 147, no. 36

Only one surviving inscription from the *hieron* was made by a Dionysopolitan, and the town's other epigraphic appearances suggest a location north of the Meander.⁶⁵ Furthermore, although the river god Μαιάνδρος or Μέανδρος appears on coins of Dionysopolis,⁶⁶ Λαιρβηνός does not.⁶⁷ Ortaköy lies between the sanctuary and Hierapolis, and it would seem strange if Dionysopolis, at that location and only three miles from the sanctuary, never carried on its coins an image of a god whose temple was within its territory, although Hierapolis, eighteen miles from the temple, did; and if residents of Dionysopolis made but one surviving dedication at the sanctuary although residents of Hierapolis made several.⁶⁸ The indications are that Dionysopolis was on the north bank of the Meander, west of the northward bend in the river, in the plain of the Hyrgaleis.

The remaining inscriptions, some from nearby villages and some found *in situ* at the temple, fall into two categories: “manumissions” and confessions. The “manumissions” found at the *hieron* were all added to the bases which bear the three dedications discussed above. These so-called manumissions present many difficulties and raise many questions, but the first example is atypical in its relative normality of spelling and grammar.

ἔτους σξβ' μηνὸς Ξαν-
 δικοῦ· Ὁλυνπιάς Διο-
 νυσίου Βλαουνδηνὴ

ἡ καὶ Μο(τελληνή) καταγράφω Νεί-
 5 κωνα β' τὸν υἱόν μου
 Ἡλίω Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρ-
 μηνῶ, καὶ ἐν τις ἀντεί-
 πη θήσει εἰς τὸν θε-
 ὃν * βφ' (leaf) καὶ εἰς τὸν
 10 φίσκον ἄλλα * βφ'. MAMA, IV, 275 BI

This is from the right side of the shaft which bears *MAMA*, IV, 275 A. The year is A.D. 177/8. Apollo Lairmenos is plainly called a sun god. Olympias has apparently held residency in both Blaundos and Motella and she “manumits” her son Neikon the second, using the term *καταγράφω*, by a public declaration at the temple. Perhaps the most intriguing part of the inscription is the sentence ἐν τις ἀντείπη θήσει εἰς τὸν θεόν * βφ' καὶ εἰς τὸν φίσκον ἄλλα * βφ'. This formula, varying in detail but usually with the verb ἐπενκαλέσι, seems to be unique to the cult of Apollo Lairbenos. *Φίσκος* often indicates that a fine is to be paid to an imperial treasury.⁶⁹ Although the formulae of manumissions elsewhere are so varied that it is dangerous to make general statements about them, the usual “protection clause,” if one may call it that, calls upon the law or upon the custom of the community to insure freedom. When a fine is set, it is assessed not for objecting—ἐπενκαλεῖν or ἀντειπεῖν—but for enslaving—*καταδουλοῦν*.⁷⁰ The unusual nature of the Lairbenos “manumissions” raises many questions. Why should anyone object? If it is freedom that is granted, is it really conditional? In other words, is the 5,000 denarii a fine merely for objecting to the act, or is it a price at which the act can be reversed? What, if any, ceremony accompanied the act? What change occurred in Neikon’s status after the “manumission”? Is a *καταγραφή* really a manumission, and what does it accomplish? Some of these questions are answerable, some are not. Further inscriptions help in drawing conclusions, which I defer until all the “manumissions” are presented.

Below *MAMA*, IV, 275 B I another inscription was added almost fifty years later, in A.D. 225/6.

ἔτους τι' μη(νὸς) γ', ζ' · Αὔρ.
 Νειγροα Μοτεληνὸς

5 'Αλεξάνδρου Διοδώρα
 γυνή μου Ἡλίων Απόλλωνι
 Λερμηνῶ καταγράφωμεν
 'Αγαθίνον θρέμενον
 έσαυτῶν· εἴ τις δ' ἀν ἐπενκαλέσι
 προστίμου * βφ̄, ἀλλα εἰς
 τὸ ταμῖον * βφ̄. *MAMA*, IV, 275 B II

Once again the people are from Motella. Θρέμενος is the word for foundling. In this case the penalty is to be paid to the treasury. but which one is not clear. Ταμῖον may simply stand for the fiscus.⁷¹

5 'Ηλίω 'Απόλλωνι Λερμηνῶ Μελ-
 τίνη 'Απολλωνίου ἐπιλεγο-
 μένη Σαγαρηνὴ καταγράφω
 Νείκην τὴν θρεμένην μου·
 εἴ τις ἐπενκαλέσει θήσι ποσ-
 [τί]μου εἰς τὸν θεὸν * αφ̄
 χὲ εἰς τὸν φίσκον * αφ̄. *MAMA*, IV, 276 A II

This is the only example of penalties of 1,500 denarii instead of 2,500 denarii. Since this was added beneath *MAMA*, IV, 276 A I, the date is almost certainly after 124.

5 'Αφφια Γλύκωνος 'Ιεραπολε[ī-]
 τις οίκοῦσα ἐν Μαμακώμῃ
 καταγράφω τὰ τέκνα κατὰ θεῖον
 δηνιρον 'Απόλλωνι Λερμηνῶ
 Δημήτριον καὶ 'Ροῦπον καὶ
 'Ρουπεῖναν τὰ τέκνα· εἴ τις ἐπενκα-
 λέσει θήσει εἰς τὸν θεὸν προσ-
 τείμου * βφ̄ χὲ εἰς τὸν φίσ-
 κον * βφ̄. *MAMA*, IV, 276 A III

This “manumission” was added beneath *MAMA*, IV, 276 A II. The editors’ conclusion that Apphia’s children were her slaves does not seem necessary, but it is noteworthy that they were her own children. If the children were slaves it was likely because their mother had cohabited with a slave.⁷² Also noteworthy is the fact that she acted at the god’s injunction.

‘Ηλίω ’Απόλλωνι
 Λερμηνῶ Δίων
 Κορνηλίου Μοτελ-
 ληνὸς κατ’ ὄντρον
 5 καταγράφω τὸν ἐμ[αυ-]
 τοῦ υεὶὸν Πλαπιαρ[ια-]
 νὸν ἔτους σθ’ μη(νὸς) [..] *MAMA*, IV, 276 B

The date of the above inscription is A.D. 124/5. It is on the left side of the *bomos* which bears *MAMA*, IV, 276 A II and III.

[ἔτους ..΄ μηνὸς] έ, ια΄·
 [’Α]πόλλωνι Λαιρβ-
 [ηνῶ Π]απία[ς ..]
 [...] ‘Ιεραπολείτης
 5 [σὸν τῆ γνώμη τῆς
 γυνεκὸς Εύτυχίδος
 καταγράφομεν Στρατ-
 ονείκην τὴν θρεπτὴν
 ήμῶ[ν αὐ]τῶν · ἐ δέ τις ἐ-
 10 πενκαλέσι θήσι εἰ τὸν
 θεὸν * βφ́ κὲ εἰς τὸν
 δεσποτῶν φίσκον - -. *MAMA*, IV, 276 C

The editors date *MAMA*, IV, 276 C as second century. Θρεπτή indicates a foster child, and the δεσποτῶν φίσκον is pretty clearly a Roman imperial treasury.

ἔτους σqγ́ μηνὸς έ, x, ‘Η[λ]ιώ
 ’Απόλλωνι Λαιρμην[ῶ]
 Μᾶρκος Διονυσοδ[ῶ-]
 ρου Μοτελληνὸς κατ[αγρά-]
 5 φω ’Αμμιαν τὴν θρεπ[τήν]
 μου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν [τοῦ]
 θεοῦ· εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκαλ[έσει]
 θήσει ίς τὸν θεὸν προσ[τεί-]
 μου * βφ́ καὶ ίς τὸν φίσκον]
 10 ἄλλα * βφ́. *MAMA*, IV, 277 A II

The year is A.D. 209. Once again the act is performed at the junction of the god, and again a foundling is involved.

ἔτους σπθ̄ μη(νὸς) δ̄ ιζ̄, Ἡλίω
 ’Απόλλωνι Λαιρμηνῶ Διο-
 μᾶς Δάφνου εἰερὸς καταγρά-
 φω Διομᾶν τὸν ἔγονόν μο-
 5 υ τὸν κὲ κληρονόμον μοι· εὶ δ-
 ἐ τις ἐπενκαλέσει θήσι εἰς τὸ-
 ν θεὸν ποστείμου * βφ̄,
 ὁμοίως κὲ εἰς τὸν φίσκον
 * βφ̄ εύτυχῶς (double leaf). *MAMA*, IV, 277 B

The above inscription is on the left side of the pedestal which bears *MAMA*, IV, 277 A I; the year is A.D. 204/5. Notice that Diomas uses a *καταγραφή* with regard to his stepson or grandson and heir (*τὸν ἔγονονκὲ κληρονόμον*) and that slaves could not inherit property. It seems more likely that it was his grandson than his stepson because it was common to name a boy after his grandfather.

- (I) [ἔτ]οις τκέ, μη(νὸς) ί, κ́ · ’Αρ. ’Αμμια Διογᾶ
 καταγ[ράφω]
 κὲ ἄλην θρεπτὴν ’Αμμια(ν) ἐφ̄ ὁ ὑπ[έρ τοῦ κα-]
 ταλειφ(θ)ῆναί με ὑποδύτω μηδεμί[αν]
 ἐπίβασιν· εὶ δὲ μὴ, θήσ(ε)ι προστείμο[υ * .].
- (II) 5 ἔτους τιά μη(νὸς) β̄, ί[· Αὔ]ρη. Μᾶρκ[ος]
 ’Απολλωνίου [Μοτελλ]ηνὸς [κα-]
 [ταγράφω ...]. *MAMA*, IV, 278
 I and II

MAMA, IV, 278 was found not at the sanctuary, but at Sazak. The date of number one is 239/40, that of number two is 225/6.

”Ετ]οις τις̄, μη(νὸς)ῑ, ί, Δ[ιονύσιος? ’Απολ-
 λωνίδου Διδύμου ιερὸς καὶ [ἡ δεῖνα
 ἡ γυνὴ μου, καταγράφομεν Ἡλίω [’Απόλλωνι?
 Λερμήνω Διδύμουν κατὰ ὄν[αρ
 5 ὃν δ̄ ἔθρεφεν Νεικηφόρ[ος
 Μο(τελληνός)
 εἰ̄ τις δ̄ ἀν ἐπενκαλέση[
 θήσι εἰς τὸν ταμεῖον [πρόστειμ-
 ον (δηνάρια) βφ̄, κὲ εἰς τὸν θ[εὸν * . *CB*, p. 147, no. 38

CB, p. 147, no. 38 and *JHS*, IV, p. 381, no. 4 were both found in the courtyard of the same house in Sazak. In *CB*, p. 147, no. 38, both the father and foster father were citizens. The syntax clearly shows that someone other than the father had been rearing the child.

εἴ τις δὲ ἐπε]νκαλέσει
θήσει προσ]τείμου
εἰς τὸ]ν φίσκον (δηγάρια) βφ̄'.
↷ N 'Απόλλωνι Λαρβηνῷ (N or) M[ηνο?]
5 γένης? Μηνο?] φάντοι Ἱεραπολίτης καὶ ἡ γυ-
νή μου ... χαταγρ]άφομεν τὸν ἔαυτῶν τεθρε-
μμένον ...]ν· εἴ τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει θήσι [π-
ροστείμου εἰς τὸ]ν θεὸν (δηγάρια) βφ̄ καὶ ἄλ(λ)α εἰς τὸ τ[α
μεῖον] *JHS*, IV, p. 381, no. 4

JHS, IV, p. 381, no. 4 contains fragments of two typical χαταγραφαί.

These eleven inscriptions, which comprise the published corpus of “manumissions” of Apollo Lairbenos, present a consistent outline, but not a finished sketch, of χαταγραφή and make it possible to say tentatively that it was not a manumission in any normal sense of the word. For one thing, the subjects of χαταγραφαί were in every case children, or, if adults, at least parents or foster parents always performed the act.⁷³ Furthermore, *MAMA*, IV, 279, discussed below, shows that worshipers of Apollo Lairbenos knew δοῦλος and ἔλευθερία, the normal words for slave and for document of manumission. Therefore, when they used χαταγράφειν they probably were not thinking of manumission from slavery. *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 147, no. 38, in which a free man and citizen used a χαταγραφή with regard to his son, who had been a foster child of another citizen, does not sound like a case of emancipation from slavery.⁷⁴ It seems as if the children may have been doing service in other households, perhaps because their parents could not afford them, under conditions similar to apprenticeship or indenture.

If this be true, it could help explain the unusual penalty clauses attached to these documents. The fiscus mentioned in them is pretty clearly a Roman imperial fiscus. “There are rare cases where penalties become due the Fiscus as a result of spontaneous private

action such as cases where a man inscribes on his tomb a stipulated penalty (*πρόστιμον*) payable by whoever puts in another body which will be due the Fiscus, the local community, or gods.⁷⁵ The necropolis of Hierapolis contains many such *multae sepulchrales* and, although the amount of the penalties varies, it is commonly 2,500 denarii.⁷⁶ The other rare case is in the clauses concerning stipulated penalties for breach of contract.⁷⁷ These cases of *καταγραφή* are yet another instance.

A *καταγραφή* clearly brought about some improvement in status, but because it was not a manumission from slavery there was no protection clause of the sort which usually accompanied manumissions. The *πρόστιμον* was likely a fine either for casting aspersions on the new status of the child or for denying him or his family a right or privilege accruing from it. Both stipulated penalty clauses and *multae sepulchrales* were in essence contracts binding on the community for enforcement, and indeed, there is no evidence that *multae sepulchrales* had any basis in Hellenistic or Roman law.⁷⁸ Millar says they are best regarded as “religious conventions.”⁷⁹ Perhaps because children, like the dead, could not rely upon full legal protection or bring legal actions it was felt necessary to declare publicly the protection of the god and thereby try to make enforcement of the penalty a community affair.

Although the confessional inscriptions associated with Apollo Lairbenos also raise questions, they offer more concrete information as well.

- Νειχ ..
 ὅμολογῶ
 [περὶ] τῶ[ν] περιστερῶν
 ἐπιωρκηκέναι με καὶ παραβε[β-]
 5 ̄χθαι καὶ πικεχειρηκέναι [έπι]
 τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡρκέναι πρόβατον
 τῶν Δημητρίου, καὶ παρανγ[εῖλ-]
 [α]ντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ δίδιν
 [τὴ]ν ἐλευθερίαν τῷ κυρίῳ μου
 10 [πε]ριδιωκόμενος ἔδωκα. ἐκολ-
 ἀσθην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὰ
 [καὶ ὄνείροις μοι παρεστάθη καὶ

ἐπενποδὼν (π)ρολαβὼν ἐμὸ[ν]
 δοῦλον καὶ ἀν πύλας ιζόμεν[ον]
 15 καὶ κεῖθεν ἀνόξιν. παραν-
 γέλλω μηδένα καταφρο-
 [νεῖν τῶ θ]εῶ Ἡλίῳ Απ-
 [όλλωνι ἐπεὶ ἔξει] τὴν στήλ-
 [ην ἔξεμπλάρι]ον.

MAMA, IV, 279

Neikon confesses four offences. He perjured himself about some pigeons; he trespassed on the sacred precinct; he “lifted” a sheep belonging to Demetrios; and he broke a promise to free a slave under pressure from his *κύριος* to surrender the document of manumission (*τὴν ἐλευθερίαν*). What happens in lines 14 and 15 is unclear, but Neikon ends by advising no one to think slightly of the god. The editors’ statement of how this confession provides a connection between “the two series of inscriptions found on this site, the confessions and the *καταγραφαί*,”⁸⁰ is not satisfactory.

For one thing, the terminology differs. *Ἐλευθερία*, the standard term for a document of manumission, and *δοῦλος* do not appear in the *καταγραφαί*, and the term *καταγράφειν* is not used here. The text simply does not say that Neikon had promised “to free one of the family slaves by a *καταγραφή*,”⁸¹ nor is there any certainty that a slave freed by a *καταγραφή* “would become technically the property of the god.”⁸²

A final thing to observe in this case is that the god desires manumission, but is unable to intervene to bring it about.⁸³ It is Neikon’s responsibility to fulfill his promise; the god merely punishes him when he does not.

Ἐλιόνυμος κολαθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 [θ]εοῦ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλωνι
 Λαβήνω στή-
 λην ἀνέθηκα,
 5 καθὼς ἔκολά-
 σετό με καὶ δι-
 ἀ ὅρκον καὶ συνί-
 δησιν καὶ διὰ
 μόλυμον.

10 παραγέλω πᾶσις
μηδίνα καταφρο-
νεῖ τῶν θε-
ῶν.

MAMA, IV, 280

The editors believe that the name of the dedicator was added by order of a priest after the stele was put up. Notice that an oath is one of the causes of punishment.

Γ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀπελ[λ-]
[σ]ζ Βλαυδεὺς κο-
λασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλάκις καὶ
πολλοῖς χρόνοις διὰ τὸ μ(ὴ) βούλεσθε
5 αὐτὸν ποσελθεῖν καὶ παρεστάναι
τῷ μυστηρίῳ καλούμενον ἐν
.

MAMA, IV, 281

Apparently there was some initiation or ceremony to which one was called, and refusing to participate could bring retribution both severe and long.

[Α]ύρήλιος
Σωτήρχος
Δημοστράτου Μοτελ-
ηνὸς κολάθιν ἐπὸ τῷ θε-
5 οῦ· παραγέλων πᾶσι μηδ-
ἐ ἄναγον ἀναβῆτε πὶ τὸ χ-
ωρίον ἐπροκήσι ἡ κηνσ-
ετε τὸν ὅρχις· ἐγὼ Γέ-
α ἔκηνησάμην ἐπὶ τὸ χ-
10 ωρίον.

MAMA, IV, 283

It appears that Soterchos is advising others not to make his mistakes. If, as the editors conjecture, ἐπροκήσι is the future of ἐπιορκεῖν, one of the offences was perjury. The second offence was trespass in an impure condition upon the sacred territory. The third offence was not clearly stated, but it was sexual. The trespass and whatever Soterchos did with his testicles were illustrated on the stele by depictions of the offending parts of the body.

The two following inscriptions are especially interesting with respect to transgression and punishment. Neither mentions Apollo

Lairbenos, but their locations in the walls of houses in Badinlar and similarities of phrasing to other Lairbenos inscriptions make it probable that “the god” is Apollo Lairbenos.

'Ατ]θεὶς Ἀγαθημέ-
ρ]ου ἱερά βιαθίσα
νπὸ αὐτοῦ κὲ ἡμα-
ρτήσα(σα) ἐ-τήκω
5 κολαθῆσα ἐπὸ τοῦ θε-
οῦ· ἐπὶ ὁ χ(ὲ) ἐστηλογ-
ράφησεν παραγ(γ)-
έλ(λ)ων μηδένα κα-
ταφρονεῖ.

JHS, X, p. 219, no. 4

The woman’s offence here seems to be that she was raped by her husband (*βιαθίσα νπὸ αὐτοῦ*) while *ἱερά*, an event which she probably did not cause and for which she would not, in our view, have been responsible. But it is she, not her husband, who answers to the god. Hogarth says, “the general character of the lady’s offence ... would be strange.”⁸⁴ Ramsay misinterprets, I think, when he says this is a case of incest,⁸⁵ but he makes the valuable observation that in the text as it stands (at least one line is missing from the top⁸⁶), the punishment comes not for going on the *χωρίον* in an impure condition, but for the offence itself.⁸⁷

'Απε[λλᾶς 'Απολλ]ωνίου
Μοτελληνὸς ἔξομολογοῦ-
με κολασθεὶς νπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐπεὶ ἡθέλησα μεῖνε μετὰ
5 γυνεκός· διὰ τοῦ[τ]ο οὖν πα-
ρανγέλω πᾶσιν μ(η)δέ-
ναι κα[τα]φ[ρον]εῖ τῶ θεῶ ἐπὶ
ἔξει τὴ[ν σ]τήλην ἔξον-
πλάριον μετὰ τῆς
10 εἰδ[ίας γ]υνεκός
Βα[σι]λίδος.

MAMA, IV, 284

This situation is as curious as the preceding one. Here Apellas is punished not for any act, but for wishing to remain with his wife. Even if *μεῖναι μετὰ γυνεκός* is a euphemism for intercourse,⁸⁸ the fact

of his punishment for a wish remains. Hogarth and Ramsay assumed that this is another instance of the servant of the temple: “the wife in this case again is ἱερά, and ... abode at the temple.”⁸⁹ This may be a likely explanation, but it is not necessary. There is also no necessity that the wife be ἱερά rather than the husband be ἱερός, although analogy with the preceding inscription favors it. In either case, Apellas was punished for a desire. But in *JHS* X, p. 219, no. 4 the woman was punished for mere participation and the desire not to participate could not avert the punishment. The reason and season for sexual abstinence are both unclear, but the rigidity of the requirement is not.

Σώσανδρος Ἱεραπόλε(ι)-
της ἐπιορχήσας καὶ
ἀναγνος ἴστηθα ἵς τὸ
σύνβωμον ἔχολάσ-
5 θηγ· παρανγέλλω μη-
δένα καταφρονεῖν
τῶ Λαιρμηνῶ, ἐπεὶ ἔξει
τὴν ἐμὴν στή[λλ]ην ἔξενπλον

JHS, X, p. 217, no. 1

Once again the offence was the breaking of an oath. It appears that the offence made Sosandros impure and that he went to a “joint altar” in that condition. He was punished and erected the stele as a warning to others “not to treat the god lightly.”⁹⁰

For the iconography of Apollo Lairbenos we may turn to one or two stone reliefs and to coins of Hierapolis. A cloak and some indication of the sun are part of his equipment; the double-axe may perhaps be included, but the lyre probably should not.

Although the earliest extant coins of Hierapolis are bronzes issued autonomously in the second century B.C.,⁹¹ Lairbenos does not appear until after the city had probably extended its influence over the territory of the sanctuary. The numismatic evidence not only shows similarity between Apollo Lairbenos and Apollo Archegetes, but also has been overinterpreted. Those depictions of Apollo Lairbenos which are certain are consistent and simple. His bust is shown in profile, usually with a cloak about the shoulders,

and ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ appears above. A radiate head shows that he is a sun god.⁹²

Other identifications of Apollo Lairbenos on coins are not certain, and identifications without sufficient reason are misleading. For example, the appearance of an unidentified figure and of Apollo Archegetes with lyres on coins of Hierapolis has led to the conclusion that the lyre was part of Apollo Lairbenos' equipment. Mionnet, 4, no. 606, from the time of Augustus, is important in this respect. The reverse shows a standing figure in woman's clothing holding a lyre in the left hand. If this were Lairbenos it would contradict evidence that Hierapolis controlled the area about the temple only from the second century. The lyre is important for Apollo, but neither the description in the catalogue nor illustrations of similar coins offers any reason to call the figure Apollo, let alone Apollo Lairbenos.⁹³

Furthermore, no coin has yet been published which bears both a lyre and positive identification of Apollo Lairbenos on the same side. Imhoof-Blumer, p. 235, no. 5,⁹⁴ shows a bust in profile, with long hair tied back, and a lyre is in front of the bust. But it is difficult even to tell the gender from the features, and the legend merely reads ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

Apollo Archegetes, however, is shown with a lyre,⁹⁵ and as a sun god with radiate head.⁹⁶ Therefore it seems just as probable that SNGD 3659, which depicts a figure in female clothing, holding a lyre, and standing in a hexastyle temple, shows Apollo Archegetes as Apollo Lairbenos. The legend is ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. It may simply depict some other patron god of Hierapolis or represent the city itself deified.

The double-axe is associated with Lairbenos, as we see from the discussion below, but it is not peculiar enough to him to be an identifying mark by itself. A coin in the British Museum catalogue bears on the obverse a head of Augustus and on the reverse a serpent-entwined double-axe that is surmounted by a radiate head of Helios.⁹⁷ A number of coins depict an anonymous "rider-god" who wears a tunic and carries a double-axe over his shoulder.⁹⁸

One, perhaps two, reliefs of Apollo Lairbenos are published. One is a small marble votive stele which shows Lairbenos riding a horse. The horse moves to the right but Lairbenos has turned his

face toward the viewer. He carries a double-axe over his left shoulder and wears a tunic and flowing cape. The inscription reads:

'Αρτεμίδωρος
Λερβηνῶ εὐχήν

Hellenica VIII, p. 57

It was found at Zeive.

Robert believes that a stele from Badinlar⁹⁹ also bears a likeness of Lairbenos. His reasons are its general similarity to the relief from Zeive, its location, and his belief that what Ramsay and the editors of *MAMA*, IV thought were wings are really the remains of a flowing cape.¹⁰⁰ This figure carries a round object, perhaps a ball or a patera, in his right hand.¹⁰¹

From the meagre evidence one can obtain only a shadowy notion of what Apollo Lairbenos looked like, but it is possible that his worshipers did not picture him too clearly either. Rays from the head indicated that he was a sun god. He sometimes wore a flowing cloak and carried a double-axe, but the latter was such a commonplace among gods of Asia Minor that one cannot say it was a special symbol of Apollo Lairbenos. Stock equipment was common to several deities, and what were probably ready-made votive reliefs offered standard representations. Moreover, different cults of the same god used the iconographic themes common to that god. Apollo Archegetes appears on coins of Hierapolis as a sun god, and a relief and its dedication to Apollo Bozenos from Satala in Lydia provide a close parallel to Apollo Lairbenos. The relief shows a horse moving to the right and bearing a rider who carries a double-axe in his left hand. The offender had trespassed on the sacred territory.

... Ἀπόλλωνι θεῶ Βοζηνῶ διὰ τὸ ἀναβέβηνε
με ἐπὶ τὸν χόρον ...

JHS, X, p. 226

The temple of Apollo Lairbenos on the Meander was small. A portico was on the west end. The roof was tiled and the ceiling was gilded and coffered. There may have been a room used as a treasury, and a small building with benches and an arched roof lay west of the temple. On the north side of the temple were inscribed altars and statue pedestals which bore statues of Apollo Alexikakos, of Apollo Lairbenos, and of Victories.

Connected with the temple was a sacred precinct where one could not go in an impure condition without suffering divine retribution which often appeared as a physical ailment. From the fact that no thanks was expressed in the confessions one may infer that the afflictions were still present.¹⁰² There may have been a grove with sacred pigeons in the precinct, since they are mentioned in *MAMA*, IV, 293, and a grove with sacred birds was a common feature of sanctuaries in Asia Minor.¹⁰³ So many inscriptions on the pedestals, altars, and stelai probably required a stele seller and carver. Presumably he sold stelai with ready-made reliefs and inscribed them as the customer dictated.

We do not know whether there were any permanent residents at the sanctuary, but the inscriptions show that there was quite a stream of visitors from Motella, Blaundos, Dionysopolis, and Hierapolis. If children had to be present at *καταγραφαί* they must have been frequent visitors, along with parents and foster parents of both sexes. Some people came to the *hieron* to confess their transgressions, others came in obedience to the god. Appearing in dreams, he ordered parents or foster parents to *καταγράψειν* their children, he ordered people to erect votive statues, and he even ordered a man to free a slave.

Thus Apollo Lairbenos was especially concerned with obedience to his injunctions, with the breaking of oaths, with stealing, and, in some respect, with the status of children. In addition to punishing shortcomings in these matters, he was capable of afflicting his followers when they tried to shirk a responsibility or simply wished to do something which was forbidden. A god with these concerns and with the power to punish people and to extract money from their purses is, as the stelai advise, not to be taken lightly.

Department of Classical Studies,
University of Missouri,
Columbia, MO 65211 U.S.A.

KEVIN M. MILLER

This article derives from Eugene Lane's seminar in Greco-Roman religion in 1981. I am grateful for his guidance and encouragement.

¹ David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), II, 988.

² George Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander: an Archaeological Guide* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1971), 234-5.

- ³ Barclay V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia in the British Museum* (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1964), lxvi. Hereafter cited as *BMC*.
- ⁴ *Altötmer von Hierapolis*, ed. Conrad Cichorius, Carl Human, Walter Judeich, and Franz Winter (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1898), 23. Hereafter cited as *AH*.
- ⁵ Bean, 234.
- ⁶ Ibid., 232-4.
- ⁷ Magie, I, 48.
- ⁸ Ibid., I, 48.
- ⁹ Bean, 245.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., 245.
- ¹¹ Ibid., 245-6.
- ¹² William Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (1895; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1975), 125. Hereafter cited as *CB*.
- ¹³ Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Jones, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1927), IV, 424-6.
- ¹⁴ Bean, 238.
- ¹⁵ *AH*, nos. 56, 158, 209, 213, 323, 335.
- ¹⁶ Ramsay, *CB*, 125.
- ¹⁷ Bean, 238.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., 239.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 239, 242.
- ²⁰ Ibid., 241.
- ²¹ Ibid., 240.
- ²² Ibid., 240.
- ²³ G. Carratelli, “*Xρῆσμοι* di Apollo Kareios e Apollo Klarios a Hierapolis in Frigia,” *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e della Missione Italiane in Oriente* (Rome: Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1965), XLI-XLII, 360.
- ²⁴ Joseph Eddy Fontenrose, “Claros,” and Herbert Jennings Rose, “Mopsus,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.
- ²⁵ Bean, 241.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 241.
- ²⁷ Carratelli, 370.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 351, 353.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 351.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 370.
- ³¹ Strabo, VI, 186-7.
- ³² Bean, 236.
- ³³ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor 1764-1765*, ed. Edith Clay (1775; rpt. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1971), 191.
- ³⁴ Bean, 237.
- ³⁵ Ibid., 237.
- ³⁶ *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, ed. W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, W. K. C. Guthrie (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1933), IV, p. xv. Hereafter cited as *MAMA*.
- ³⁷ D. G. Hogarth, “Apollo Lermenus,” *JHS* VIII (1887), 76.
- ³⁸ *MAMA*, IV, xv.
- ³⁹ Ibid., IV, xv.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., IV, xv.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., IV, p. 98.
- ⁴² Ibid., IV, xv.
- ⁴³ Ibid., IV, xv.

- ⁴⁴ Ibid., IV, xv.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., IV, p. 98.
- ⁴⁶ G. Carettoni, "Scavo del Tempio di Apollo a Hierapolis," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e della Missione Italiane in Oriente* (Rome: Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1965), XLI-XLII, 432.
- ⁴⁷ *MAMA*, IV, p. 110.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., IV, plate 56, no. 273.
- ⁴⁹ Hogarth, 376.
- ⁵⁰ The editors erred in converting the date; σμθ is 164, not 174.
- ⁵¹ L. Robert, *Villes D'Asie Mineure*, 2nd ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1962), 141.
- ⁵² Ibid., 141.
- ⁵³ Ibid., 141.
- ⁵⁴ See the discussion of coins below.
- ⁵⁵ Robert, *Villes D'Asie Mineure*, 140.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., 140; *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. D. Dittenberger (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1905), II, no. 527.
- ⁵⁷ Ramsay, *CB*, 132.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., 132.
- ⁵⁹ Robert, *Villes D'Asie Mineure*, 128.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., 129.
- ⁶¹ Ramsay, *CB*, 146.
- ⁶² Robert, *Villes D'Asie Mineure*, 130.
- ⁶³ Ibid., 131.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 131.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 137.
- ⁶⁶ *BMC*, p. 183, no. 6.
- ⁶⁷ Robert, *Villes D'Asie Mineure*, 139.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 139.
- ⁶⁹ L. Robert, *Hellenica—Recueil D'Épigraphie de Numismatique et D'Antiquités Grecques* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965), XIII, 205.
- ⁷⁰ Aristide Calderini, *La Manomissione e la Condizione dei Liberti in Grecia* (1908; rpt. Rome: Bretschneider, 1965), 445-7.
- ⁷¹ Eugene Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), III, 53, note 44.
- ⁷² W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, (1908; rpt; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), 398.
- ⁷³ T. R. S. Broughton, *Roman Asia, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. T. Frank. (Paterson, New Jersey: Pageant Books, 1959), IV, 691.
- ⁷⁴ *χαταγράψει* is used in a different context in *TAM* V, 1, 460 where a woman enrolls herself in the service of some god or gods: *χαταγράψαι ἐμαυτὴν ίς ὑπηρείαν τοῖς θεοῖς*. See Eugene Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), III, 20-1. It is significant that there is no hint that Trophime, the woman in question, was or ever had been a slave. Debord, in commenting on *TAM* V, 1, 460, notes the use of *χαταγράψαι* and, comparing its use in *MAMA* IV, 277 B, says that the son dedicated to Apollo Lairbenos does not resemble a slave. See Pierre Debord, *Aspects Sociaux et Economiques de la Vie Religieuse dans L'Anatolie Greco-Romaine*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982), 355, note 72.
- ⁷⁵ Fergus Millar, "The Fiscus in the First Two Centuries," *JRS* LIII (1963), 38.
- ⁷⁶ *The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, ed. E. L. Hicks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), III, pp. 253-4.

- ⁷⁷ Millar, 38.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., 38.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., 38.
- ⁸⁰ *MAMA*, IV, p. 104.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., IV, p. 104.
- ⁸² Ibid., IV, p. 104.
- ⁸³ A. Cameron, "Inscriptions Relating to Sacral Manumission and Confession," *Harvard Theological Review* 32 (1939), 177.
- ⁸⁴ Hogarth, 382.
- ⁸⁵ William Ramsay, "Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos," *JHS* X (1889), 220.
- ⁸⁶ Hogarth, 382.
- ⁸⁷ Ramsay, "Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos," 220.
- ⁸⁸ A. Cameron, "Notes," *Classical Review* XLVI (1932), 250.
- ⁸⁹ Hogarth, 383.
- ⁹⁰ Ramsay, *CB*, 149. Other typical confessional inscriptions are *MAMA*, IV, 282, 285, 286.
- ⁹¹ *BMC*, p. lxvi.
- ⁹² "Hierapolis," *BMC*, nos. 54-66 and 177-85; S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins* (Chicago: Obol International, 1979), III, 244; Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Munzen* (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1901), I, p. 237, nos. 9 and 10; Theodor Mionnet, *Description de Medailles Antiques Grecques et Romaines* (1806; rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstall, 1972), IV, nos. 587-91, supplement VII, nos. 372 and 378; *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum Deutschland, Sammlung v. Aulock* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1964), IX, plate 118, nos. 3626-29, plate 119, no. 3662, and XVIII, plate 290, no. 8379; *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum, Great Britain*, Fitzwilliam Museum (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), VI, plate 12, no. 4976; *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum, Denmark*, (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1948), I, plate 13, nos. 435, 441, plate 14, nos. 467, 474; University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology, acc. no. 84.16.
- ⁹³ Robert, *Villes D'Asie Mineure*, 141. For other coins similarly described see Mionnet, IV, nos. 590, 611, 625. For illustrations see *SNG, Deutschland*, IX, nos. 3653, 3654, 3664-6, 3668.
- ⁹⁴ Plate 7, no. 29.
- ⁹⁵ Mionnet, supplement VII, no. 380; *BMC*, p. 233, no. 34, p. 234, no. 46.
- ⁹⁶ Mionnet, IV, no. 585; supplement VII, no. 381; *BMC*, p. 245, no. 23.
- ⁹⁷ *BMC*, p. 245, no. 106.
- ⁹⁸ *BMC*, pp. 240-1, nos. 77-81; pp. 247-8, nos. 118-22; p. 251, no. 137.
- ⁹⁹ *MAMA*, IV, 268.
- ¹⁰⁰ Robert, *Hellenica* VII (1949), 57.
- ¹⁰¹ Ramsay, "Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos," 224.
- ¹⁰² W. H. Buckler, "Some Lydian Propitiatory Inscriptions," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 21 (1914-1916), 171.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., 171.

SACRIFICE AND BEING

*Prajāpati's cosmic emission and its consequences**

BRIAN K. SMITH

I

This is a paper on beginnings. Specifically, my topic centers around conceptions of conception in Vedic ritualistic texts—and around the different set of ideas in those texts regarding the origins of true being and the ontological role the sacrifice (*yajña*) plays. In the beginning I will be concerned with two key notions of excess which regulate the Vedic metaphysical economy; two ideas which provide the limits and boundaries of the conceptual space inside of which all true being, all ontological formations are located. I then will turn attention to a group of cosmogonic myths which feature Prajāpati, the creator god *par excellence* of Vedic ritualism. This god's primordial procreative act is the "emission" or emanation of the cosmic elements from his own body, a creation on the grandest scale but one that transgresses the boundaries of ontology. These myths articulate a prototypical blueprint which also is replicated at the human level. Patterns of universal creation are repeated in Vedic passages dealing with the structure of human beginnings.

That creation of the individual should be presented as a microcosmic repetition of the creation of the universe might seem singularly unremarkable to students of religion, especially to those who have read one or more of Mircea Eliade's many publications on the subject of cosmogony. As that great scholar never tires of reminding us, for *homo religiosus* "every creation has a paradigmatic model—the creation of the universe by the gods."¹

What redeems the Vedic case from the jaws of the archetypical is a radical disjunction between "creation" and "cosmos." At the level of universal beginnings, Prajāpati's creative emission is not a cosmogonic act but rather what one scholar has provocatively labelled a "profane act."² Cosmic procreation does not result in a

ready-made cosmos, an ordered universal whole, but in a problematic excess that must be moderated. Similarly, at the level of individual beginnings, birth and “anthropogony”³ are distinct and separate moments, the first being only the necessary precondition for the second. As cosmic creation is not cosmogony, so too is human reproduction not the production of a true human being.

It is not only characteristic but even definitive of Vedic ritualism that between procreation on the one hand and cosmogony and anthropogony on the other is inserted a set of *constructive* activities, that is, a set of *rituals*. Between Prajāpati’s creation and the origin of cosmos are divine sacrificial acts which give form to a formless emission. Between creation of the individual and the origin of the human being are also ritual acts which fabricate a true human being out of a humanoid. Cosmogony and anthropogony are *activated* and *actualized* by sacrifice (*yajña*), by ritual action (*karman*); they are not immediately realized by mere divine or human procreation.

In Vedism, ritual activity at all levels does not merely “interpret,” “symbolize,” or “dramatize;” it constitutes, constructs and integrates. Ritual *forms* the naturally formless; it *connects* the inherently disconnected; and it *heals* the “sickness” of excess which is the state toward which all things and beings perpetually tend.

All constructions of ontologically viable forms, all productions, indeed, all life, lie between what Jean-Marie Verpoorten has called “two symmetrical excesses.”⁴ The first is *jāmi*, an “excess of resemblance” describing the unproductive condition of homogeneity or redundancy. In Vedic texts, the word is applied in various contexts. *Jāmi* sometimes is used as a kinship term to describe persons with whom one is too closely related to marry.⁵ In ritual terminology, *jāmi* designates rites which are redundant and fruitlessly reduplicative within a ritual sequence. In all cases, however, it is the unproductivity of excessive resemblance and undifferentiation that is denoted. This is brought out with clarity in a passage from the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa which likens *jāmi* to homosexual union:

Devoid of pairing (*amithuna*) and productivity (*aprajanana*) is *jāmi*, as is the fruitless coupling of two men or two women ... That, on the other hand, which is devoid of *jāmi* is a true pairing (*mithuna*), a true generation (*prajanana*) (JB 1.300).

If productivity requires a mitigation of excessive resemblance and undifferentiation, it also assumes a modification of the state of total distinction and utter separation. Complementary to, and the inverse of, *jāmi* is *prthak*, “excessive differentiation.” *Prthak* (and related terms such as *bahutva*, “multiplicity,” and *nānātva*, “variety, distinction”) refers to a condition of unrelated diversity, unconnected dispersion, or atomism which is as inimical to true being as homogeneity, reduplication, and redundancy. Things must be differentiated to avoid *jāmi*, but they must also be related and connected to avoid *prthak*.

In Vedic ritualism, as Lilian Silburn has observed, “non-being is that which is devoid of connection” and “being appears to be precisely that which is welded, or rather, fabricated, adapted.”⁶ Both *jāmi* and *prthak* are excessive and unproductive—symmetrical and opposing conditions of “non-being”—because they describe states in which this ontology of composition and connection is absent. *Jāmi* precludes production of true being because there are no sufficiently distinct parts to connect; *prthak* does so because there are no connections possible between overly distinct parts. All being locates itself between these twin excesses, since true being is the result neither of reduplication of the same, nor of differentiation of the dispersed many, but rather is the consequence of the construction of an integrated unity out of distinct but connected parts.

II

These rather summary observations on the metaphysics and ontology of Vedic ritualism are concretely illustrated by the myths of cosmic creation starring Prajāpati, the “lord of creatures.” As I have noted above, these myths depict the creation of the universe in terms of a primordial emission or procreative emanation (*vi-sṛj-* or *vi-kṛṣ-*) of the manifest totality out of the body of the transcendent unity. This creative act engenders not a cosmos, however, but a cosmic problem: the “emission,” that is, the creation, is either insufficiently differentiated or intemperately scattered. It is, in other words, either *jāmi* or *prthak* and in neither case a cosmogony.

In one set of myths of this kind, Prajāpati emits creatures who are formless by virtue of their excessive cohesiveness or in-

distinguishable because they are too much alike. “Prajāpati emitted the creatures. These emitted (creatures) were closely clasped together (*samaslisyan*),” indistinct and thus chaotic (TB 2.2.7.1). Or, as another text relates, the cosmic particles thus procreated are chaotic because they are equal, left in a post-creative existence characterized by discord, rivalry, and cannibalism: “Prajāpati emitted the creatures. These (creatures) were undifferentiated (*avidhṛta*), at odds with one another (*asamjānāna*), and ate each other” (PB 24.11.2). A creation resulting in excessive resemblance or *jāmi* is thus depicted as a kind of egalitarian nightmare of anti-cosmos, an unstructured and overly homogeneous product. The acosmic primordial state of absolute unity and oneness is reduplicated in an anti-cosmic, post-creative state of sterile but dangerous uniformity which is really but another “form” of formlessness.

More typical, however, are those myths where Prajāpati’s cosmic emission results in a creation whose parts are scattered, dispersed, separate and distinct—a creation of *prthak*, excessive differentiation. In some texts, the shattered particles of reality in this state of disarray and radical independence resist the “superiority” (*śraisthya*) of Prajāpati, their creator and their principle of order and reunification (see e.g., PB 16.4.1-3). The creatures are said to “run away” from Prajāpati,⁷ worried that he will “consume” them: “Prajāpati emitted the creatures. These, being emitted, ran away from him fearing that he would devour them” (PB 21.2.1). In this passage, the fear of being “consumed” would seem to be a trope for the reluctance of distinct elements to allow themselves to be *resumed* within a unified whole.

Furthermore, Prajāpati himself is described as totally spent, dissipated, and broken down after his procreative emission. Texts depict him variously as “milked out” (*dugha*), “drained” (*rīricāna*), “exhausted” (*vṛtta*), “diseased” (*vyājvara*), or most often “disjointed, fallen to pieces” (*visrasta*).⁸ In this state Prajāpati fears death (ŚB 10.4.2.2), his vital breaths (*prāna*) and luminous power (*tejas*) leave him (ŚB 6.1.2.12; 7.4.2.1,4) as do the gods (ŚB 9.1.1.6) and cattle (ŚB 8.2.3.9).

The dispersal and disconnection of Prajāpati’s creatures and the dissolution of the creator’s body are two sides of the same

metaphysical coin. Prajāpati, the aboriginal unity and potential unifying principle, is broken down, ineffectual, emptied out and lying pathetically in a heap; his emitted parts, the constituents of the universe, are scattered in confusion and divergence.

In the following quotation from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the disintegration of Prajāpati's body caused by the procreative emission is identified with the discontinuity of the elements of the year. When Prajāpati is disjointed, time, like every other aspect of creation, is literally “out of joint:”

When Prajāpati had emitted the creatures his joints (*parvans*) became disjointed. Now Prajāpati is the year, and his joints are the two junctures of day and night, of the waxing and waning lunar half-months, and of the beginnings of the seasons. He was unable to rise with his joints disjointed (ŚB 1.6.3.35).

Cosmogony, the production of an ordered universe out of a generated potential, is a secondary act in the Prajāpati myths. If Prajāpati's emission is depicted as insufficiently differentiated, true cosmogony occurs when creation is divided into its constituents. Excessive resemblance or *jāmi* is thereby moderated by the imposition of form and difference. Creatures who were emitted “closely clasped together” were made distinct when Prajāpati “entered them with form (*rūpa*)” (TB 2.2.7.1). And when the creatures are emitted “undifferentiated, at odds with one another,” and engaged in mutual cannibalism, in the other variant of the myth, “This distressed Prajāpati. He saw the forty-nine day sacrificial session. Thereupon, this (creation) became separated: cows (became) cows, horses (became) horses, and men (became) men” (PB 24.11.2). Here the origins of universal form and order are specifically said to be effected by the morphological power of ritual, subsequent to and counteracting the creative emission.⁹

When Prajāpati's procreative act results in an excessively differentiated creation, *prthak* is offset by connection. Cosmos arises out of ritual construction of the fragmentary emitted parts. Creatures too independent and unrelated, who run away from Prajāpati for fear of being “devoured,” must be “returned” to the creator and integrator and “eaten” in a manner which preserves distinction while interrelating and subsuming elements within an ordered whole:

Prajāpati said, ‘Return to me, and I will devour you in such a way that, although devoured, you will multiply.’ He consumed them by means of a ritual chant (*sāman*), and caused them to multiply by means of (another) ritual chant (PB 21.2.1).

And when Prajāpati, disintegrated and “fallen to pieces,” is in a post-creative but pre-cosmogonic state of fragmentation, he is “made whole” again and “healed” by the gods who reintegrate his body into a unity of parts. Prajāpati, disjointed after procreation, begs Agni, “Put me back together (*tvam mā saṃdhehi*)”, and Agni does so by “building him up” piece by piece, just as the bird-altar of the *agnicayana* sacrifice is built up brick by brick (ŚB 6.1.2.13ff.). When Prajāpati had fallen into pieces (*vyaśramsata*), his breath and energy gone out from him, he falls down. “And, truly, there was then no firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) here at all. The gods said, ‘There is no other firm foundation except this one. Let us restore (*sam-skaravām*) father Prajāpati; he will be a firm foundation for us’ (ŚB 7.1.2.2). Again, Prajāpati, disjointed (*visrasta*) after creating the creatures and emptied or his vital breaths, is restored (*sainskurvan*) by the gods and the vital breaths re-installed (ŚB 7.4.2.11,13). In yet another text, in which Prajāpati conceived of as the year is “out of joint” and “unable to rise” due to the dispersive and exhaustive creative emission, “the gods healed (*abhiṣajyan*) him by means of the *havis* offerings,” the regularly performed and obligatory sacrifices of the Vedic *śrauta* repertoire:

With the *agnihotra* (the twice-daily sacrifice) they healed that joint (which is) the two junctures of day and night, and joined it together (*saṃadadhuh*). With the new and full moon sacrifices they healed that joint (which is) between the waxing and waning lunar half-months, and joined it together. And with the *cāturmāsyas* they healed that joint (which is) the beginning of the seasons, and joined it together (ŚB 1.6.3.36).

It is a sort of mopping up operation, a secondary creative act which constructs cosmos out of the fragmented elements which appear after Prajāpati’s cosmic emission. Unlike all the king’s horses and all the king’s men, the gods, employing the connective power of ritual, *can* put the shattered Prajāpati or his creation back together again. The procreation, depicted with words prefixed with “*vi*” denoting dispersal, disintegration, and diffusion, is counteracted by action of healing, repair, and construction denoted with verbs using the “*saṃ*” prefix (conveying conjunction, wholeness, concentra-

tion, and assembly).¹⁰ Coomaraswamy summarizes this two step cosmogonic process and the role of sacrifice in it when he writes, “And what is the essential in the Sacrifice? In the first place, to divide, and in the second to reunite. He being One, becomes or is made into Many, and being Many becomes again or is put together again as One.”¹¹

III

Vedic cosmogonies, like cosmogonies everywhere, depict the origins and first causes of the present state of the world. They provide the Vedic view of the metaphysical problem as well as its ritual solution. The cosmogonic myths indicate that for the Vedic ritualists what is immediately given is inherently defective; what is subsequently formed, constructed, and connected is the ontologically real. This process of making order and synthesis out of the original, procreated disorder or fragmentation is repeated at the level of human reproduction.¹² Human beings, like all other forms in the universe, are not produced “naturally” but rather are the results of ritual work.

The cosmic emission of Prajāpati is replicated by the emission of semen in the act of human procreation. In one text, semen is considered the “essence” or “life sap” (*rasa*) of the man, his condensed representative: “Of created things here earth is the essence; of earth, water; of water, plants; of plants, flowers; of flowers, fruits; of fruits, man; of man, semen” (BĀU 6.4.1). When emitted into the womb of the woman, it is as if the self of the procreator has been wholly reproduced in the form of the embryo:

In a person this one (the microcosmic *ātman*) becomes first an embryo. That which is semen is the luminous power (*tejas*) extracted from all the parts (of the man). In the self, truly, one bears another self. When he pours this in a woman, then he begets it. This is one’s first birth (AitU 2.4.1; cmp. AitB 7.13 and AitAr 2.5).

The self is transmitted and perpetuated through the offspring, but the product is redundant.

In some Vedic texts, however, the exact reproduction of the self in the son is regarded favorably. The Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka makes a distinction between a desired “counterpart” (*pratirūpa*) and an undesired “counterfeit” (*apratirūpa*): “A counterpart is born

among his offspring, not a counterfeit” (*SānĀr* 6.11; cmp. *BĀU* 2.1.8). “The father enters the wife,” according to another text; “having become an embryo, he (enters) the mother. When he is renewed in her, he is born in the tenth (lunar) month” (*AitB* 7.13; cmp. *Manu* 9.8).

Generally, the embryo produced by the semen is considered excessively similar to the father of whom the semen is the essence. The foetus thus created is merely a reduplication of the father, a redundant product that must be recast. Individuation begins as the foetus in the womb is shaped by its mother:

It comes into individual self-becoming (*ātma-bhūya*) with the woman, just as a limb of her own. Therefore it does not injure her. She nourishes this self of his that has come to her (*AitU* 2.4.2; cf., *AitĀr* 2.5).

Elsewhere it is stated that the embryo is the result of the intermingling of both male and female fluid. The dual emission produces an independent and sufficiently distinct third entity.¹³ “The embryo is developed from the union of seed and blood ... If the male seed is in excess a male is born, if the female a female, if both are equal a hermaphrodite.”¹⁴ In any case, the male semen that carries the self of the father into the self of the offspring must be tempered by the female component—either the womb itself which provides space for an organic “self-becoming” or the female “seed” which comes together with the male semen. The excessively undifferentiated semen is thus to be counteracted in some way in order to avoid the sterility of *jāmi*.

In this theory of conception there is a problem with the distinguishing of the self of the new foetus from the essence of the father’s self represented by his semen. We are reminded here of the cosmogonic myths of creatures “clasped together” in unproductive union or “at odds with one another” in rivalry stemming from excessive similarity.

A different theory of human origins is also expounded, one which turns on the opposite problem of excessive differentiation. Just as Prajāpati in the cosmic beginnings emits creatures who are dispersed and lie in disarray until restructured into forms and placed in relation to one another, so too is the human emission of semen by which life is reproduced sometimes viewed as an act of radical

dispersion and discontinuity. The seed is regarded as multiple and is said to be “scattered” (*sikta*) into the womb in a “micro” version of the “macro” dispersive act. Sacrifice too is treated as a procreative act, and in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, the ritual “emission” produces the same effect on the sacrificer as the cosmic emission did on Prajāpati: “Prajāpati emitted offspring. He thought himself drained (*rinicāna*) ... He who sacrifices creates offspring. Then he is drained” (TS 6.6.5.1). Procreative emission is followed by ontological formation. The dispersed semen ejaculated into the womb (literally in biological reproduction, figuratively in sacrificial fertilization) is subsequently “transformed” or “developed” (*vi-kṛ-*). In some cases, Tvaṣṭṛ, the divine builder and shaper of forms, is invoked to aid in this process.¹⁵ In any event, the seed is converted from its disseminated state, replicating the metaphysical excess of *prthak*, to a metamorphosed condition of ontological integrity and composition. Through ritual means “he thereby transforms that scattered seed, and so the scattered seed is transformed in the womb” (ŚB 7.1.1.17). Or, again, the text claims that “whatever the seed is transformed into in the womb, as that is it born” (ŚB 6.7.2.7).

The transmutation of semen to person within the womb, and the process of further refining a human from a procreated offspring, are accomplished by the ritual activities called *samskāras*. Derived from the Sanskrit root *kṛ-*, “to make,” with the integrative prefix *sam-*, *samskāras* are rituals which literally “make whole,” “construct,” or “perfect.” More than merely “rites of passage,” *samskāras* are “l’activité qui crée les formes, les adapte et ce faisant les parfaît.”¹⁶ Or, as R. B. Pandey puts it in his *Hindu Samskāras*, they are “religious purificatory rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual.”¹⁷ All *samskāras* aim not only at “the formal purification of the body but at sanctifying, impressing, refining and perfecting the entire individuality of the recipient.”¹⁸ From conception to birth, and from birth to the “second birth” out of the Veda (*upanayana*) and marriage, the life of the boy is punctuated by these rituals of healing (eliminating the defects of mere creation) and of construction (collecting together and ordering elements into viable and fit entities).

These transformative actions, performed by the father or family priest on the foetus, the infant, the child, and the youth, are, according to one ritual Sūtra, “*sāṃskārāḥ śārīrāḥ*,” “rituals perfecting the physical body” (VaikhGS 1.1). In later life, Vedic rituals performed by or for the adult sacrificer, the *yajamāna*, continue the progressive realization of the human form. One of the purposes of the Vedic sacrifice was continually to compose the *ātman*, the self-body complex, and to project this ritual construct into the other world as a *daiva ātman* or heavenly self-body. In this sense, all Vedic rituals might be considered as *sāṃskāras*, and in fact the production of the *ātman* “out of the sacrifice” is often described in the Brāhmaṇas with the same combination of the verb *kṛ-* with the prefix *sam-*.

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, for example, the soma sacrifice is depicted as a process of “self perfection” (*ātma-sāṃskṛti*) and is regarded as a “work of art” (*śilpa*). The sacrificer “fashions (*sāṃskurute*) his own self in a rhythmical way (*chandomaya*)” through the ritual chants likened to seeds being poured into the womb (AitB 6.27). As B. M. Barua comments with reference to this text,

The substance with potentialities or possible forms is given as a work of Art Divine and the methodical realization of those possibilities is the achievement of human skill and intelligence ... Art consists in the intelligent working up of a desired form on a natural material, making manifest what is hidden or potential.¹⁹

Another Brāhmaṇa notes that in the ritual the priests construct or perfect (*sāṃskurvanti*) a *daiva ātman* for the sacrificer (KB 3.8), and in yet another text the relationship between the constructive ritual activity and the *ātman* thus constructed is recognized by the sacrificer who knows, “This, my (new, heavenly) body (*āṅga*) is made complete *sāṃskriyate*) by that (sacrifice); this body of mine is procured by that” (ŚB 11.2.6.13).

Just as the body of Prajāpati, the cosmic whole, must be joined together, reintegrated, and “healed” by the ritual acts of the gods, so too is the *ātman* of the human individual made whole or perfected in his sacrificial activity. Each sacrifice expresses and regenerates the sacrificer’s *ātman*, and the sacrificial life of the individual is like a canvas on which is painted the picture of the self. The portrait is both complete in itself at any particular sacrificial performance and

filled out over time. It is at once an index and a projection, a gauge of the relative actualization of the self in this world and the other world. Sacrifice constitutes being, both cosmic and human, by a process that is equally one of construction and discovery; a process of *realization* of potentiality. As J. F. Staal writes,

The sacrifice can now be interpreted as one of the modes of human being which constitutes being. This ontological interpretation enables us to see how it was possible (ontically, as Heidegger would say) that such importance was attached to the ritual act ... The transformation or consecration which is effectuated through sacrifice, is not as a transformation from one being to another but the constitution of being itself.²⁰

IV

According to Vedic texts, the “natural” state of man is, like the given state of emitted creation, a kind of “non-being,” a defective condition that is later corrected by sacrificial construction. Every human is cast into this condition originally. Some persons and groups are considered permanently faulty and incomplete. Still others are temporarily returned to the aboriginal circumstance through illness. All are, at death, placed into an ontological limbo complementary to that of the procreated foetus. In all cases, the “firm foundation” and structured protection ritual activity affords against the perpetual tendency for all things and beings to deconstruct and return to their elemental formlessness have been lost.

Although the rituals of perfection (*samskaras*) begin with the act of intercourse and conception, up until the time of initiation into the Veda and sacrifice (occurring normally in the eighth, eleventh, or twelfth year depending on the class of the boy) the child is considered incomplete and therefore irresponsible. The uninitiate is likened to those persons permanently excluded from Vedic rituals and thus permanently defective, the members of the *sūdra* or servant class:

They do not put any restrictions on the acts of (a boy) before the initiation; for he is on the level with a *sūdra* before his (second) birth through the Veda (BDhS 1.2.3.6).

The *sūdras* live in a state of inherited and perpetual irresponsibility, a child-like condition of natural deficiency that members of the

other classes pass through but also pass out of when brought into relation with the sacrifice. According to Manu (10.126), the *sūdra*, like the uninitiated child, cannot perform an act serious enough to cause a fall from position, for he is already at the bottom of the ontological heap.

Such is not the case, however, for the other three classes who are expected to progress out of the state of in-born incompleteness and realize themselves, in different ways and to various degrees, through ritual action. A member of the Brahmin, *kṣatriya*, of *vaiśya* class is born defective²¹ but also with inherent proclivities that should be exploited. If a Brahmin passes his sixteenth year without undergoing initiation, if a *kṣatriya* his twenty-second or a *vaiśya* his twenty-fourth, they become *patita-sāvitrika*s, those who have lost their right to learn the Veda and to sacrifice (ŚGS 2.1.9; PGS 2.5.39). These “fallen” ones, bereft of and now excluded from the perfecting and healing force of ritual activity and true knowledge, degenerate instantly into a status identical to that of the *sūdras*:

No one should initiate such men, nor teach them, nor perform sacrifices for them, nor have intercourse with them ... A person whose ancestors through three generations have been *patita-sāvitrika*s is permanently excluded from the *sāṃskāra* (of initiation) and from being taught the Veda (PGS 2.5.40,42).

Whereas the ontological defects of the *sūdra* are inherited and permanent traits, the natural condition of ontological deficiency is also one into which other men may lapse. The *patita-sāvitrika* falls into such a state through negligence. The physically afflicted man decomposes into much the same condition when, as a result of possession, “sin,” or other causes, he loses temporarily the continuity of being ritual activity does so much to foster and protect. “The vital breaths pass through him who is ill” (PB 18.5.11), just as they did when Prajāpati was in his post-procreative state. “Food goes forth from him” (PB 16.13.3), escaping from the body through the rupture that is sickness, just as the creatures run away from the weakened and “drained” Prajāpati. “He who is ill is without a firm foundation” (PB 16.13.4), returned to the precariousness of deficiently integrated origins, represented at the cosmic level by Prajāpati who is collapsed in a heap awaiting reconstruction and “healing.”

One text, recalling the famous story of Indra's slaying of the serpent Vṛtra, compares the depleted strength of Indra after the battle to the quintessential disease of depletion and rupture—diarrhoea—in addition to other comparable conditions: those of an expelled king, a childless though fertile man, and the generically ill man.

Indra slew Vṛtra. His strength went asunder (*vijārhat*) in every direction. The gods searched for an expiation for him, but none would please him. Only the strong soma rite (*tivra-soma*) pleased him (and restored him to strength). He should perform (this rite) for one who drinks soma only to have it pass through him (*soma-atipavita*). Ruptured, as it were, is he whose soma passes through him. The performance of the strong soma rite serves to block up, to rectify the rupture. He should perform it for a king who is expelled (from his kingdom). The subjects pass through him who has been expelled from his kingdom. The performance of the strong soma rite serves to block up, to rectify the rupture ... It should be performed by one who wants offspring. Offspring pass through him who, though fertile, gets no offspring. The performance of the strong soma rite serves to block up, to rectify the rupture ... He should perform it for one who is ill in any way (*āmayāvin*). The vital breaths pass through him who is ill. The performance of the strong soma rite serves to block up, to rectify the rupture (PB 18.5.2-6,9,11).

Finally, we may turn to the case of the recently deceased who is betwixt and between a former life as a man and a future existence as an ancestor. As D. R. Shastri notes, the transition is not immediately effected upon death; the spirit (*preta*) must be ritually *made* over time into an ancestor (*pitr*), just as the embryo and infant are constructed into a human being by ritual means:

The dead man does not immediately after his death and without more ado join the number of the ancestors who are worshipped; on the contrary fixed ceremonies are necessary for elevating the deceased to the rank of ancestors.²²

There is, as David Knipe puts it, a “series of bodily constructions and dissolutions the deceased undergoes before becoming established in the world beyond.”²³ The rituals of death, mirroring in many ways the *samskāras* of life, begin with the cremation of the body. The once integrated constituents of the human body are dissolved into their parts and redistributed throughout the cosmos:

... the voice of the dead man goes into fire, his breath into wind, his eye into the sun, his mind into the moon, his hearing into the quarters of heaven, his body into the earth, his self (*ātman*) into space, the hairs of his body into trees, and his blood and semen are placed in water. (BĀU 3.2.13; cmp. RV 10.16.3 and ŚB 10.3.3.8)

Man is decomposed into his natural and dispersed elements precisely as the Cosmic One must first become multiple before a new reformation can emerge out of the recomposition of the parts. And as Prajāpati, in his liminal state after procreative emission, but before ritual reconstruction, is described as depleted or “fallen to pieces,” so too is the *preta*, the “gone out” or “departed” human spirit, depicted as dangerously fragmented before its reunification and transformation into an ancestor: “They say of the *preta*, ‘He has been cut off (*ācchedi asya*)’” (ŚB 10.5.5.13).

The child, the *sūdra*, the *patita-sāvitrika*, the sick man, and the newly dead—all these states are similar regressions to the original human condition of defectiveness. The remedy for illness, ritual reconstruction and reintegration, is but a special case of the remedy applied to all faulty beings. Sacrifice is in Vedism the ontological medicine for all deficient creations, and thus also the means for repairing debilitated forms. And rituals must be regularly repeated to protect against the natural inclination of structured entities to deconstruct into their atomistic constituents.

V

Ritual, a constructed whole composed of ordered acts one following the other in a continuous chain, lends its form to those who engage in it or are subsumed within it. The sacrifice, however, is itself not immune from the forces of chaos and disorder intrinsic to Prajāpati’s creation. The very set of circumstances the ritual is meant to overcome is that which plagues it. The sacrifice is subject to the potential for its acts and elements to fall apart (*skanna*), be cut (*chinna*), break (*bhinna*), shatter (*bhagna*), become defiled (*duṣṭa*), inverted (*viparīta*), or defective (*hīna*), as one list enumerates (BSS 28.10). In Vedism, the ritual arena is not an idealized and artificial realm radically divorced from the “real” world. Both ritual and reality, as Verpoorten observes, are “dynamic” worlds “where all things at every moment flirt with effervescence” and where “stability and continuity are the major preoccupations.” For “the natural state” of all things is “mere juxtaposition (*abhidhā-*)” of the parts.²⁴ The continuity of the ritual is threatened by the intrinsic tendency of the rites to decompose and separate, or as Silburn

writes, “If the sacrificial thread is so fragile it is because any act, whether it be procreative or sacrificial, is in essence discontinuous.”²⁵

While life outside of ritual structure is often viewed as disjointed, diseased, and dangerous, life inside the ritual world becomes so when the sacrifice begins to unravel as a result of error or misfortune. It is the special function of the *brahman* priest, the officiant called the “physician” of the sacrifice (AitB 5.34; KB 6.12), to spot the ruptures and deficiencies when they appear. He is compared to the carpenter who “seeks what is broken (*rīṣṭa*)” and to the doctor who concerns himself with what is “fractured” (*ruta*) (RV 9.112.1). With an observant *brahman* priest, mistakes can be “healed” by deploying particular correctional or expiatory rites (*prayaścittas*). “Just as one might mend (*samdadhāyat*) body with body, joint with joint, or clasp together (*samsleśayet*) with a cord … something that has come apart, so with these (expiations) he mends whatever in the sacrifice has come apart” (AitB 5.32).

As it is said in the Vedic ritualistic texts, sacrifice is the expiation of the sacrifice.²⁶ The activity that forms defective creation into cosmos, and man into human, doubles back upon itself to cure and reconstitute its own “body” when it is threatened by natural imperfection and innate discontinuity.

Barnard College,
Columbia University,
Dept. of Religion

BRIAN K. SMITH

ABBREVIATIONS

AitĀr	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
AitB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AitU	Aitareya Upaniṣad
BDhS	Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra
BGS	Baudhāyana Grhya Sūtra
BSS	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
BĀU	Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad
GB	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
JB	Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
KB	Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
Manu	Manu Smṛti
PGS	Pāraskāra Grhya Sūtra

PB	Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa
RV	Rg Veda Saṁhitā
ŚāṅĀr	Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka
ŚGS	Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṁhitā
VaikhGS	Vaikhānasa Grhya Sūtra

* This paper, in a somewhat different form, was read at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Dec. 20, 1983.

¹ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and Profane*, trans. by Willard Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1959), p. 31.

² Lilian Silburn, *Instant et cause: Le Discontinu dans la pensée philosophique de l'Inde* (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1955), p. 54.

³ This useful and appropriate neologism was created by Bruce Lincoln.

⁴ Jean-Marie Verpoorten, "Unité et distinction dans les spéculations rituelles védique," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 21, 1 (1977): 59-83. My thanks to David Carpenter for leading me to this extremely important and often overlooked study.

⁵ See A. C. Banerjea, *Studies in the Brāhmaṇas* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsi-dass, 1963), pp. 20-31. The author concludes his study of the term by writing, "Thus on comparing the Brāhmaṇa passages we arrive at the conclusion that 'jāmti' ... in all probability is a common designation for the members of a non-marriageable group, and as such non-approachable by those who abided by the exogamous system."

⁶ Silburn, *Instant et cause*, p. 44.

⁷ See TS 2.4.4.1; TB 1.1.5.4; AitB 3.36; GB 2.5.9.

⁸ For *dugdha*: PB 9.6.7; *rīracāna*: TS 1.7.3.2; MS 1.6.12; TB 1.1.10.1; ŚB 10.4.2.2; *vṛtta*: TB 1.2.6.1; *vyājvara*: GB 2.4.12. For *visrasta* and other forms of *vi-* and *sramś-* used to describe Prajāpati's post-creative condition, see TB 2.3.6.1; ŚB 1.6.3.35; 4.5.4.1; 6.1.2.12; AitAr 3.2.6; ŚāṅĀr 8.11.

⁹ As Sylvain Lévi noted in his *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), "... le grand art du sacrifice, c'est ... imposer une discipline hiérarchique."

¹⁰ Cf., Silburn's comments, *Instant et cause*, p. 56.

¹¹ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Ātmayajña: Self-Sacrifice," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6 (1941): 396.

¹² For a study of the topic in the Upaniṣads, see George William Brown's *The Human Body in the Upanishads* (Jubbulpore: The Christian Mission Press, 1921). Cf., Paul Deussen's discussion in his *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, trans. by A. S. Geden (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), pp. 283-96.

¹³ See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 17-61.

¹⁴ Garbha Upaniṣad 2, cited in Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 295.

¹⁵ See, e.g., KB 3.9; ŚB 1.9.2.10; 3.7.2.8; 4.4.2.16; 7.2.1.6 etc.

¹⁶ Silburn, *Instant et cause*, p. 58.

¹⁷ Raj Bali Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras: Socio-Religious Study of the Hindu Sacraments*, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsi-dass, 1969), p. 16.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁹ B. M. Barua, "Art as Defined in the Brāhmaṇas," *Indian Culture* 1 (July 1934-April 1935): 120.

²⁰ J. F. Staal, *Advaita and Neoplatonism: A Critical Study in Comparative Philosophy* (Madras: University of Madras, 1961), p. 67.

²¹ See the distinction made between a Brahmin “by birth only” and a Brahmin so constituted by virtue of the initiation at VaikhGS 1.1 and BGS 1.7.1.

²² Dakshina Ranjan Shastri, *Origin and Development of the Rituals of Ancestor Worship in India* (Calcutta: Bookland Private Ltd., 1963), p. 62.

²³ David M. Knipe, “*Sapindikarana*: The Hindu Rite of Entry into Heaven,” in Frank E. Reynolds and Earle H. Waugh, eds., *Religious Encounters with Death: Insights from the History and Anthropology of Religions* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), p. 111.

²⁴ Verpoorten, “Unité et distinction,” p. 62.

²⁵ Silburn, *Instant et cause*, p. 90.

²⁶ See, e.g., BSS 27.12: “yajño ha vai yajñasya prayaścittir iti vijñāyate.”

CHRISTIAN RESPONSES TO BUDDHISM IN PRE-MEDIEVAL TIMES

DAVID SCOTT

In recent years one of the fruits of the inter-faith dialogue movement has been a growing respect and appreciation on the parts of Christianity and Buddhism towards each other. The visits in 1984 of the Pope to East Asia and of the Daila Lama to Great Britain was a fitting time for these two eminent figures to show this, through their cordial visits to local leaders of the other tradition. This increasingly fruitful interaction has been given greater edge by the establishment of Buddhism in the West, and the appearance of truly indigenous Christian communities in the Far East. Historically, though, this generally friendly relationship may be thought, with some initial justification, to be only a recent 20th century (indeed post-1945) phenomenon. In the preceeding centuries European missionaries, who had entered alongside the European powers from the 16th century onwards, had (with a few exceptions) rejected the Buddhism encountered in East Asia as being little better than corrupt idolatry.¹ That encounter by the missionaries was, however, not the first Christian encounter with Buddhism. During the Mongol dominance of Asia, various Western missionaries had travelled in Asia, and had recorded their meeting with Buddhists during the 13th and 14th centuries.² Even that encounter was not the earliest between the two religions. What we propose to do in this study is to uncover the very earliest such encounters, those from the 2nd/3rd centuries in the last days of the Roman Empire, and those from the 7th-9th centuries that ensued when Nestorian Christianity entered China, and there encountered a vibrant Buddhism. What will emerge is that the discernible responses on the part of Christian writers towards Buddhism almost seem to foreshadow some of the modern responses in the recent decades of inter-faith dialogue.

The earliest Christian notice of Buddhism comes c. 202, with Clement of Alexandria writing in his *Stromata* 1.15 that:

Philosophy, of things of highest utility flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations ... First in its ranks were ... the Samanaeans among the Bactrians ... Some, too of the Indians obey the precepts of Boutta, whom on account of his extraordinary sanctity they have raised to divine honours.³

Clement's account deserves notice for its positive tone and degree of accuracy. Of all the places in the Roman Empire it was cosmopolitan Alexandria, with its direct trading links with the west coast of India, the Indus valley, and through that with Bactria, which could realistically hope to pick up information on religious developments in the East. Indeed there may have been direct personal Buddhist sources available to Clement. After all Buddhist records, notably the Rock Edict XII of Ashoka, mentioned the spreading of the *dharma* among the Greek rulers, such as specifically Ptolemy, around 259 B.C.; and later on towards the end of the first century A.D. we find Dio Chrysostom in his *Discourses* 32.40 speaking of the presence of Bactrians and Indians at Alexandria. Be that as it may, Clement's comments seem to be based on an authentic perception of Buddhism. The *śamanaeans* from Bactria refer to the Buddhist *śramaṇas* (wanderers), the Boutta in India to the Buddha. Clement's emphasis on it as a philosophy is understandable given the Buddhist ferment which was taking place then, and which was giving rise to the Madhyamika school of which the most notable proponent was Nagarjuna, and of which the *prajñā-pāramitā* literature was the fruit. The analogy between the Greek *sophia* and the Buddhist *prajñā* forms of wisdom seems to have been sensed by Clement, thus providing an unexpected early antecedent to modern studies by scholars like Conze.⁴ Clement's reference to the precepts of Buddhism is interesting and appropriate, given the strong emphasis within Buddhism of the precepts (*śīlas*) that were applicable to monks (10 *dasa-śīlas*) and lay persons (5 *pāṇica-śīlas*). The basic Buddhist formulation of the 'Eight-fold path', of right understanding, right speech, right action, etc., fit into Clement's perceptions of Buddhism. Clement's seeming acceptance of the Buddha's "extraordinary sanctity" is also noticeable.

Among the early Church Fathers Clement figures as one of the prominent apologists who attempted to explain Christianity to a non-Christian world. In the Mediterranean milieu apologetics had been mostly concerned with Hellenic philosophy and with the rival

deities of Antiquity. Among these apologist writers e.g., Tatian, Justin, Arnobius, Commodianus and Clement, a relatively positive attitude was adopted towards the former, but not towards rival deities like Mithra and others.⁵ Clement's appreciative comments about Buddhism came about precisely because he saw it as a kind of philosophy.

A further notice on Buddhism is contained in the *Contra Jovianus* 1.42 of Jerome (382-420), written in the twilight of the Roman Empire. Concerning Indian religions he had heard how:

The opinion is authoratively handed down that Buddha the founder of their religion had his birth through the side of a virgin.⁶

Here Jerome seems to have come across some of the popular stories about the Buddha that were to be found in the Jatakas, and his notice particularly reflects the story of the Buddha's birth as given by Ashvaghosa in the first chapter of his *Buddhacarita*, composed in the 1st century A.D. Jerome's comments proved to be the last heard in the West. Rome itself was sacked in 410 and W. Europe descended into its Dark Age for the next few centuries. The rise of Islam in the 7th century directly cut across previous links between India and the Mediterranean. Thus it was that Buddhism dropped out of the consciousness of Christianity.⁷ Clement's and Jerome's early considerations were not followed up in the West.

Although Buddhism was to be lost to Christian literature in the West, this was not to be the end of our story. Following the call at Pentecost, Christianity slowly started to expand eastwards from Syria into Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau by the third century, despite Zoroastrian opposition within the Sasanian Empire. Furthermore Christianity started to go yet further eastwards, out of the Zoroastrian orb into areas in Central Asia that were dominated by Buddhism. At a very direct practical level Christianity had to respond to Buddhism. How was it to respond? On the one hand it could dismiss Buddhism as mere idolatry. On the other hand it could follow an approach reminiscent of Clement's more open remarks. In this vein we have the following statement made by the Persian bishops to Khusro I (531-579) concerning the work of the Logos, or Word:

He who since the beginning has instructed in a concise manner the human race, in accordance with the state of infantine state of its knowledge, with

knowledge concerning his God-head, and in intervening times by diverse visions and various likenesses revealed himself to the saints and by the various laws corrected and instructed mankind as an increase of their knowledge.⁸

The importance of this official *Creed of the Bishops of the Land of Persia* can be gauged from the fact that shortly afterwards, in 635, Christianity was formally introduced and recognized at the imperial court of the mighty T'and dynasty in China.⁹ As in Central Asia, the incoming (Nestorian) Christian missionaries were faced with a well established flourishing Buddhist tradition, and for the next 210 years we can follow some of the ensuing Christian responses to Buddhism, which were only terminated by the Confucian purge in 845 which eradicated Christianity. What attitude did the Nestorian Christians take to their by now increasingly familiar local Buddhist neighbours?

As in the West, two strands already existed within the Christian tradition vis-à-vis other encountered traditions. As we have seen, from the earliest days the more appreciative treatment of Greek philosophy by Apologists like Clement had been matched by strong denunciations of rival deities. Within the Nestorian tradition of 'The Church of the East', which held sway in Christian communities east of the Euphrates, a somewhat open approach is suggested by the account of the work of the Logos in the aforementioned creed of the Persian bishops. At the same time Nestorian texts like the *Gannat Bussame*, written around the 8th/9th century, spoke of the work of the Antichrist:

Il apparaît sur la terre, ses adeptes, bande de démons, faux Messies courrent partout prêchant 'Voici que le Messie est venu' trompant tout le monde sous prétexte de religion et l'attirant à la perdition ... Il trompe les païens de toute espèce avec les noms de leurs dieux imaginaires et faux.¹⁰

What attitude then would be taken towards Buddhism: the work of the Antichrist or a reflection of the earlier effect of the Logos?

Unfortunately there is little Nestorian material available from Central Asia, although Klimkeit has recently postulated points of controversy between the two over creation and physical resurrection.¹¹ Fortunately we possess an extensive range of Nestorian material from China, which gives a very striking picture. The earliest evidence of this comes from Alopen, who arrived in 635 from Mesopotamia to head the fledgling Christian community. In

his *Jesus Messiah Sutra* we find the transcendence of God being stressed, and the buddhas being considered more like angels:

All the buddhas as well as kinnaras and the superintending-devas and arhans can see the Lord of Heaven. No human being, however, has ever seen the Lord of Heaven.¹⁴

He considered that the breath or power of the Holy Spirit lay behind those various buddhas:

The person of the Lord of Heaven is in brightness, joyous and peaceful and dwells in Heaven in comfort. All the buddhas flow and flux by virtue of this very wind, while in this world, there is no place where the wind does not reach.¹³

A slightly different twist can be discerned in the same text, where at least in one passage a direct identification of God and Buddha is suggested:

Ever since the time when heaven and earth were created in co-operation, the divine dignity of God has never been but manifested, and it has never been but the cause of immortality enjoying everlasting happiness. Man, therefore, in extremity, will always do honour to the name of Buddha.¹⁴

What are we to make of this passage? Should it be dismissed as merely a bad Nestorian translation, due to the Buddhist scribe that Alopen was initially dependant on? Or should it be seen as an imaginative attempt to integrate the Buddhist system within a Christian framework? One notices some particularly interesting overlaps between the *trikāya* doctrines that were prevalent in Mahayana circles on the one hand, and certain incoming Christian ideas. Thus when Alopen equated God with Buddha, which aspect (*kāya*) of the Buddha was he equating? Was it to the *Nirmāṇakāya* (the historical aspect, i.e. Shakyamuni), *Sambhogakāya* (the celestial blissful aspect, i.e. the myriad of Buddhas) or *Dharmakāya* (the absolute aspect)? It would in fact make quite good sense if Alopen was equating the Christian God with the latter aspect of Dharmakāya, Godhead being equated with Buddhahead. (Incidentally a similar approach has also been advocated in recent years in Christian-Buddhist dialogue.)¹⁵ Continuing in this vein, the earlier lines by Alopen that described buddhas as carrying out their activities through the Holy Spirit, could be seen as an attempt to integrate the *Sambhogakāya* aspect at an angelic level. In a sense we could say that the *trikāya*

theory of Buddha-nature was being accepted and applied through equation to analogous Christian levels.

This approach is interesting, for Alopen went on to note how ignorant people tried to compare their ‘gods’ to the Christian vision of ‘God’. Such ignorance could not maintain itself for, as the text immediately continues:

The Lord of Heaven, however, gives man mind and wisdom. Therefore, whoever wants to return for the charity-favour of Buddha should have, by reflection and self examination a clear comprehension of his own sins and wicked deeds.¹⁶

Further mention is made in the *Jesus-Messiah Sutra* of people who had received the precepts and thereby did good deeds themselves and also encouraged others to do so, recalling Clement of Alexandria’s earlier words about the precepts of the Buddha. However such actions needed to be allied with a belief in God:

If there be any persons, who, though they have already ‘received the precepts’ do not fear the Lord of Heaven, then, they cannot be counted among those who have ‘received the precepts’ in spite of professing that they rely on the teachings of Buddha. They are, in reality, traitors!¹⁷

In a sense the Nestorians could claim to be more Buddhist than the Buddhists!

Again it should be noted that this was no mere syncretic mess. Instead there are clear adaptations from Buddhism, but contained within an overall Christian framework. The second half of Alopen’s work gives a straightforward and clear presentation of the life of Jesus, closely following the Gospel of Matthew, and with a plethora of names (e.g. Mary, Jerusalem, Messiah, river Jordan, John, Pilate and Jesus) transliterated straight into Chinese. Whilst the historical aspects of the Christian message were strictly adhered to, a flexible approach was followed in the more metaphysical aspects which were approximated in various cases to Buddhist thought. The interesting point to emerge is that the approximations made did have some real functional and thematic overlapping.

This process can be followed in other works attributed to Alopen. In the *Discourse on Monotheism* the theme of *śunyatā* (emptiness) that had been propounded by writers like Nagarjuna and indeed in the whole *prajñā-pāramitā* literature, was adopted by Alopen to show that ultimately God was beyond all human categories for:

The holy One of great wisdom [*brajñā-pāramitā*] is equal to pure emptiness [*śūnyatā*] itself and cannot be taken (a view thereof).¹⁸

The *Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe* has Alopen propounding, amongst straightforward monotheistic themes, how:

A human body seems to consist of both ‘the five attributes’ and the soul forming one complete being.¹⁹

This was merely taking the Buddhist teaching of the person being nought but five shifting aggregates of *skandhas* (lit. heaps, of form, perception, consciousness, action and knowledge), and giving it the extra Christian dimension of the soul. Elsewhere in that piece Alopen lamented how because of the work of the devil:

It has become impossible for a human being to understand the truth and attain ‘liberation from sorrow’.²⁰

This liberation, whilst coming through Christ, is in fact the Chinese Buddhist term *chieh-to*, which itself was the straightforward rendering of the Sanskrit term for liberation, *moksha*. Yet another work attributed to Alopen, *The Lord of the Universe’s Discourse on Alms-giving*, has this blending of Buddhist and Christian terminology. The term used for alms-giving was the Chinese Buddhist character *pu-shih* which was a translation of the Sanskrit *dāna*, which invokes the six *pāramitās* that the Buddhist had to master, and of which *danā-pāramitā* was traditionally the first.²¹ Within the text a clear Christian theme was followed. There is mention of Adam, Joseph, Caesar and Jesus’ ministry; in fact the tract is a version of the Sermon on the Mount as found in Matthew 5-7. But with its title we move back into the Buddhist sphere, for the term translated by Saeki as ‘Lord of the Universe’ consists of the Chinese characters *shih* (lit. the world) and *tsun* (lit. honoured one), which are the exact Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *Lokadyechtha* (World Honoured One). This was traditionally the common title enjoyed by the Buddha, and by which he was addressed in the great Mahayana sutras like the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*).

Another line of enquiry that may be followed fruitfully is with the Christian response to the Bodhisattva figure of Avalokitesvara, who was considered in Mahayana circles as the very embodiment of compassion (*karunā*), and the one who manifested himself everywhere in answer to the cries of the suffering, and who ap-

peared in China in the more female form of Kuan-Yin (lit. Regarder of the Cries of the World).²² Functionally Jesus and Avalokitesvara (Kuan-Yin) overlap in this field of compassion. After all was it not stated in all the Gospels (Matthew 9.13, Mark 5.19, Luke 4.18-19, John 37-38) that Jesus came into this world to be the hope for the suffering, and to bring mercy? Nestorian awareness and usage of such Buddhist themes centred around Kuan-Yin can be seen in the famous stele erected at Hsian-fu in 781, by one Yazedbouzid who at the end of the inscription said that his father Milis had been a priest from Balkh in present day N. Afghanistan, and at that time a Buddhist stronghold.²³ The stele is in the main a historical account of Christian activities in China, Christian doctrines, and the life of Christ. Describing Jesus' assumption Yazedbouzid used a curiously un-Christian turn of phrase:

He then took an oar in the Vessel of Mercy and ascended to the Palace of Light.²⁴

Certainly the language used was not inappropriate for its purpose, describing Jesus going up to heaven, and in Christianity the ship/ark was used at times to denote the Church. However Yazedbouzid's usage has a very distinct ring about it that connects it to Kuan-Yin's image. Traditionally Kuan-Yin was represented with a ship behind her owing to the popular belief that due to her compassion she saved people from shipwrecks, both spiritual and literal. In the former sense we have her eulogy in the *Liturgy of Kuan-Yin*:

Great compassionate Kwan-shai-yin, Oh! may I soon acquire perfect knowledge ... Oh! may I soon cross over to the other side, in the boat Prajñā (wisdom) ... Oh! may I soon pass over the sea of sorrow.²⁵

As regards the more literal sense, we have her words in the *Sūrangamā Sūtra* that "I cause them to avoid drowning when they are adrift on the sea".²⁶

This conceptual linking of Jesus and Kuan-Yin may be perceived in writings by Yazedbouzid's son, Adam (his Chinese name being Ching Ching). In his *Motowa Hymn in Adoration of the Trinity*, he gave a clear outline of Christian doctrine which led it to be dubbed by Saeki as a Chinese version of the 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo'.²⁷ Nevertheless an interesting turn of language comes with the plea in it to Jesus on high:

Great master, we pray that thou will hear the supplications of all people and send down the salvation raft from on high to make them escape from being tossed on the stream of fire.²⁸

This was quite acceptable for its Christian purpose, but it also directly evokes the existing language and situations used for Kuan-Yin. This can be followed in the immensely popular *Lotus Sutra*, which had first been translated into Chinese in 255/256. In chapter 25 ('The litany of the Great Compassionate One') the Buddha was asked:

World Honoured One, for what reason is the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara named 'Regarder of the Cries of the World' [Kuan-Yin].

The answer to this was because:

If there be any who keep the name of that Bodhisattva 'Regarder of the Cries of the World' [Kuan-Yin] though they fall into a great fire the fire will not be able to burn them by virtue of the supernatural power of that Bodhisattva's majesty.²⁹

As can be seen, not only does the Nestorian writer Adam seem to evoke the Buddhist imagery of the raft, and of Jesus hearing the cries of the world as Avalokitesvara/Kuan-Yin does, but the same sorts of danger are used to illustrate Jesus' power as already existed in the popular texts concerning Avalokitesvara/Kuan-Yin.

It might be argued that such functional and linguistic overlapping is merely a matter of imagery. But some statements go deeper than mere imagery. Alopen asserts that:

Meditating on the various devices and plans (of salvation) is what other sects would do. But in the teaching of the Lord of the Universe our prayer is all that is needed to have our desire completely fulfilled.³⁰

Such a partial theological acceptance of other sects like Buddhism had the practical result for Alopen that on the final Day of Judgment:

Therefore, you who have already embraced the faith, OR you who do all kinds of meritorious deeds, OR who will walk in his way with an honest heart, shall all enter heaven and remain in that abode of happiness for ever and ever.³¹

Given this acceptance of meritorious deeds as a pathway alongside that of formal Christian belief, the way was open for Nestorian appreciation of Buddhist ethical practices. Indeed we find our Nestorian friend Adam helping a Buddhist monk, one Prajñā who

had come to China from Kapisa in present-day Afghanistan, to translate into Chinese a Buddhist text. As the Buddhist *Chen-yuan-hsin-ting-shih-chiao mu-lu* reported of Prajñā:

Collaborating with Ching-ching (Adam), a Persian monk of the Ta-ch'in monastery, he translated the Satpāramitā Sūtra ... and finished as many as seven volumes.³²

Unfortunately this work (apparently of a somewhat poor translation quality) is no longer extant, but from its title it would appear to have been concerned with the Buddhist *pāramitās* of giving, morality, patience, vigour, meditation and wisdom. Such an ethically-orientated piece would have been the type of Buddhist literature that was most acceptable to local Christians. We cannot explain this action through ignorance on Adam's part of Buddhism, since the two religions had co-existed by then not only for several decades in China, but for an even longer period in N. Afghanistan (from where Adam's family had come). In short Buddhism was for Adam a familiar face, and so his decision to help the Buddhist monk Prajñā translate a Buddhist text has a very deliberate air to it. The fact that the character of this text was concerned with high standards of behaviour such as would no doubt be acceptable to Adam, gives his decision a further air of deliberateness and of appropriateness: a decision undertaken with knowledge of its implications. Even by today's ecumenical standards this collaboration in the 9th century by these members of different religions is striking.

Equally striking is the rejection of Buddhism contained in the Nestorian *Gannat Bussame* which contains material spanning the 7th/10th centuries, and composed in Mesopotamia. News of the encounter of Nestorian missionaries with Buddhists in Tibet and Central Asia (Khotan) seems to have percolated back to the main Nestorian centres in Mesopotamia in a very jaundiced fashion. Commenting on Matthew 24.23-24 (concerning false prophets), the author equated Buddhist figures to creations of the Antichrist. The Antichrist had said:

Aux Indiens 'Boudhasp est ressuscité' ...
 Il pousse à la perdition tous les autres peuples
 lointains avec les noms qui sont vénérés chez eux ...
 Avec Malko les Saikaimonaie [Shakyamuni Buddha]
 c'est-à-dire les Toptiae [Tibetans] et les
 Otnaie [Khotanese].³³

It is curious that the text makes no mention of China. This might perhaps lead us to suggest that whereas in Central Asia a much more negative view was taken by Christian missionaries of Buddhism, by contrast in China a more positive view was taken. The difference between the two texts may well be situational. The Nestorians in China were actually encountering Buddhists in the flesh. In this view the Gannat Bussame text would appear to be an abstract and ultimately sterile polemical rejection, whilst the Nestorians in China were involved in a much more concrete and intimate interaction with this other living tradition.

What does emerge from the available Nestorian material in China is a curious echoing of the previous initial approach implied by Clement of Alexandria at the start of the third century. Moreover, by their utilization of Buddhist themes connected with ethical behaviour, wisdom and compassion, the Nestorians may also appear as fore-runners to contemporary Christian initiatives and forms of dialogue. Dumoulin, for one, is struck by the Buddhist theme of compassion as being a fruitful entry point for modern dialogue.³⁴ The one area of Buddhism that has not been mentioned in this study is their strong meditative tradition, as this is not echoed particularly in the Nestorian texts available to us.³⁵ This is all the more remarkable as the Nestorians were present in China to see the blossoming of the Buddhist school of meditation (Ch'an, appearing later in Japan as Zen) under Hui-neng (637-713) and his successors. It is more than likely that there was some contact between local Nestorian Christian and Buddhist monasteries, both engaged in contemplative spiritual disciplines. Surely it is no accident that this feature figures prominently in contemporary Christian-Buddhist dialogue.

106, South Street,
Whitstable, Kent
CT5 3ET

DAVID A. SCOTT

¹ D. Lancashire, "Buddhist Reaction to Christianity in Late Ming China", *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 6 (1968-1969), pp. 82-103 for such negative missionary attitudes in China, although the Jesuit missions in Japan, initiated by Francis Xavier, seem to have had more respectful attitudes towards some of the encountered Zen masters.

² A separate study is forthcoming on this medieval situation. Meanwhile it must suffice to note that despite a general tendency to denounce other religions as false, and Buddhism as idolatrous, nevertheless the latter's monastic discipline made some real impression.

³ Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata or Miscellanies*, tr. W. Wilson, *The Writings of Clement of Alexandria*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1867-1869, pp. 299-567, pp. 398-399.

⁴ E. Conze, "Buddhist 'prajna' and Greek 'gnosis'", *Religion*, 5 (1975) pp. 160-167. General survey of such early contacts and images in J. Sedlar, *India and the Greek World*, Totowa, 1980.

⁵ Concerning the Apologist tradition, Clement of Alexandria, and Christian attitudes towards other gods, see respectively J. Danielou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*, London, 1973; S. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, London, 1971; C. Keller, "Le Dieu des Chrétiens et les Dieux des Religions", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 56 (1976), pp. 509-523.

⁶ Jerome, *Contra Jovianus*, tr. W. Fremantle, *St. Jerome. Letters and Selected Works*, Oxford, 1893, pp. 346-416, p. 380.

⁷ The Manichaean adoption of the Buddha as an earlier 'Messenger of Light' brought about a consequent rejection of him, in passing, in Christian anti-Manichaean tracts like the *Acta Archelai* (c. 385) and Greek anathemas (10th century). This rejected Manichaean-Buddha was not linked by such writers to the earlier notices by Clement and Jerome, to Buddhism, or to India, and so is not really relevant for our particular study here.

⁸ Creed in *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts*, tr. L. Abramowski and A. Goodman, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1972, pp. 88-93, p. 90. General survey by J. Asmussen, "Christians in Iran", *Cambridge History of Iran. III*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1983, pp. 924-948.

⁹ General study by J. Foster, *The Church of the T'ang Dynasty*, London, 1939. Fundamental repository of source material given in P. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1951.

¹⁰ Tr. in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les Mages Hellenisés*, Paris, 1938, vol. 2, p. 116.

¹¹ H. Klimkeit, "Gottes- und selbsterfahrung in der Gnostisch-Buddhistischen religionsbegegnung Zentralasiens", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 35.3 (1983), pp. 236-247.

¹² *Jesus Messiah Sutra* 3, tr. Saeki, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-146, p. 125.

¹³ *Ibid.* 12-13, tr. p. 126.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 19-12, tr. pp. 126-127.

¹⁵ E.g. Dom Aelred Graham, *Conversations: Christian and Buddhist*, London, 1969, pp. 179-180.

¹⁶ *Jesus Messiah Sutra* 24-25, tr. p. 127.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 87, tr. pp. 133-134.

¹⁸ *Discourse on Monotheism* 58, tr. *ibid.*, pp. 161-168, p. 165.

¹⁹ *Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe* 87, tr. *ibid.*, p. 181.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 174, tr. p. 189.

²¹ *Discourse* tr. *ibid.* pp. 206-230; Buddhist background discussed in B. Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism*, 4th ed., Bangalore, 1976, pp. 464-489.

²² K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 340-342, for Kuan-Yin.

²³ Stele tr. Saeki, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-77, p. 69-70 for notice on Milis.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, tr. p. 55.

²⁵ *Liturgy of Kuan-Yin*, tr. S. Beal in *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, London, 1871, pp. 398-409, p. 405.

²⁶ *The Sūrangamā Sūtra* 6, tr. C. Luk, London, 1966, p. 139.

²⁷ *Motowa Hymn in Adoration of the Trinity*, tr. Saeki, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-268, comm. by Saeki on p. 262.

²⁸ *Ibid.* tr. p. 268.

²⁹ *Lotus Sutra* 25, tr. B. Kato, Y. Tamura and K. Miyasaka, *The 3-fold Lotus Sutra*, New York and Tokyo, 1975, pp. 31-344, p. 319.

³⁰ *The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-Giving* 213-214, tr. Saeki, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

³¹ *Ibid.* 256, tr. p. 229.

³² Episode tr. *ibid.*, pp. 465-470, p. 469.

³³ Tr. Bidez and Curnont, *op. cit.* (fn. 10), p. 116.

³⁴ H. Dumoulin, *Christianity meets Buddhism*, La Salle (Illinois), 1974, where he takes what he calls a Johannite position with emphasis on the creative presence of the Logos throughout the world, which leads onto specific treatment on themes of in particular compassion and meditation.

³⁵ One of the texts attributed to Adam (Ching-ching), the *Sutra on Mysterious Rest and Joy*, tr. Saeki *op. cit.*, pp. 281-302, has a very strong meditational flavour, but in a Taoist rather than Buddhist sense.

³⁶ W. Johnston, *Christian Zen*, Dublin, 1979. Interestingly he also noted the closeness of the Buddhist epitome of compassion Kuan-Yin and the Sermon on the Mount, p. 128. He also starts on p. 1 by saying “Some years ago, Arnold Toynbee declared that when the historian of a thousand years from now comes to write the history of our time, he will be preoccupied not with the Vietnam war, nor with the struggle between capitalism and communism, nor with racial strife, but with what happened when for the first time Christianity and Buddhism began to penetrate one another deeply. The remark is profoundly interesting and, I believe, profoundly true. Christianity and Buddhism are penetrating one another, talking to one another, learning from one another”. Yet has not something of this been shown for those very earliest Christian encounters with Buddhism that we have looked at?

A NOTE ON RAFINESQUE, THE WALAM OLUM, THE BOOK OF MORMON, AND THE MAYAN GLYPHS*

CHARLES BOEWE

A body of literature¹ has begun to grow from the premise that, in some obscure way, the Walam Olum was a source for the Book of Mormon. The Walam Olum is a long narrative poem beginning with the Creation and recording the wanderings of the Delaware Indians through many generations; its text was preserved by C. S. Rafinesque.

Whether the Book of Mormon in any way parallels the Walam Olum, whether Joseph Smith had prior access to Red Indian lore that also appears in Rafinesque's Walam Olum, or whether Rafinesque's redaction of the Walam Olum is a trustworthy transcript of Indian beliefs² are questions not addressed here. The sole issue of this paper is whether Joseph Smith profited from the Walam Olum as it was recorded by Rafinesque.

Scholars wishing to compare any of the received versions of the text of the Walam Olum—all of which derive from an 1833 manuscript in Rafinesque's hand—with the Book of Mormon might pause to reflect on Rafinesque's own trenchant anti-Mormon stance. Under the title "The American [Indian] Nations and Tribes Are Not Jews," he wrote:

A new Religion or sect has been founded upon this belief! the Mormonites, thus called after a new Alcoran, or Book of Mormon, (which is not a Jewish name). Supposed to be written in gold letters more than 2000 years ago by Mormon[,] leader of the American Jews. This Book which no one has seen nor read but the founder of the sect, the probable writer thereof, has been made the Bible of a new sect. I have tried in vain to procure a copy of the translation, wherein I could certainly detect a crowd of absurdities and incongruities. Meantime a Sect of Fanatics has arisen therefrom, and wandered from New-York to Ohio and Missouri: an evident proof how false beliefs can be spread and made subservient to crafty purposes.³

Rafinesque's personal opposition to Mormonism would not prevent his published writings being used either by the founder of Mormonism or by its later apologists, but it is most unlikely that there was friendly contact between him and any of the Mormons.

Rather, four years before his publication of the text of the Walam Olum Rafinesque was seeking, without success, a copy of the Book of Mormon to “expose” it.

As shown in the most comprehensive discussion of the subject,⁴ the Walam Olum came to Rafinesque in two stages while he was living in Kentucky. In brief, a “Dr. [John Russell?] Ward,” whose positive identification still remains uncertain, obtained the pictographs alone in 1820, ostensibly from the Delawares themselves, in Indiana. These symbols, each a mnemonic device to recall to memory the verse of a song to the tribal historian, were meaningless to Rafinesque and other Caucasians, but they excited his interest as did other enigmatic “Indian relics” he had begun to collect in connection with his study of American prehistory. He acquired all 184 of the symbols along with the “songs annexed thereto” in 1822. The songs or verbal text, in the language of the Delawares, came “from another individual,” who has never been identified. The Walam Olum manuscript as we know it is dated 1833 in Rafinesque’s hand, by which time he was living in Philadelphia. Therefore, this manuscript must be a recension from two earlier sources—neither of which has been found—since it contains the pictographs, the Lenape words of the language of the Delawares, and the English equivalents of these words. Rafinesque finally published his English version in 1836 with a sample of the Lenape text but without the pictographs.⁵ The problem about the integrity of the Walam Olum—which need not detain us here—stems from the circumstance that no description of the origin of the document, save Rafinesque’s own, has ever been found. An outline of the Walam Olum’s narrative, however, was independently given earlier by John Heckewelder, whose writings were well known to Rafinesque.

Leaving Kentucky permanently in the spring of 1826, Rafinesque shipped his possessions to Philadelphia in 40 crates and traveled, by a circuitous route, to the same destination. Whatever form the Walam Olum was in at that time—and it could not have been the 1833 MS which is known to us—it must have been included in the shipment, because we know that he traveled light; in the unpublished journal of one who traveled with him part of the way he is described as botanizing while his only shirt dried from an infre-

quent laundering.⁶ It was only during this journey that Rafinesque might have come within close physical proximity to Joseph Smith.

Joining his friend Professor Amos Eaton, who was conducting a scientific field trip for his students from the Rensselaer School on the newly completed Erie Canal, Rafinesque traveled with the group, which passed through Palmyra, N.Y., on May 31, 1826.⁷ Joseph Smith had been living on a farm a few miles south of Palmyra. But we know that Smith was not in Palmyra on this date, scanty as the documentation is for many of his early years. It happens that on March 20, 1826, Smith stood trial before a justice of the peace in Bainbridge, Chenango County, N.Y., and remained in that vicinity "for some months" courting his future wife, Emma Hale, whom he married in South Bainbridge January 18, 1827, after which the two of them returned to Palmyra.⁸ However, even if they had met, Rafinesque could hardly have transmitted the Walam Olum to Smith orally, since he himself was unable to translate the Lenape words until 1833,⁹ three years after the Book of Mormon was in print.

If Joseph Smith was aware of the substance of the Walam Olum before he published the Book of Mormon in 1830 his knowledge must have come through some source other than Rafinesque. Although no evidence has ever been advanced that Smith was in fact familiar with the Creation myth and migration record of the Lenape people, the source of the story most likely available to him would have been the paraphrased account of it printed by John Heckewelder in 1819.¹⁰ Regrettably, for purposes of drawing parallels between Lenape mythology and Mormon cosmogony, in Heckewelder's essay (p. 29) the "Lenape (according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors) resided many hundred years ago, in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent." In order to see the Lenape traditions as a prototype for Mormon belief it is essential to have the Indians originating in Asia (better yet, Egypt), and preferably to have a longer time span. Rafinesque's translation of the Walam Olum has, indeed, what he called "a fine poem on the passage to America" from Asia (Book III)¹¹—a necessary element for those who wish to find the Walam Olum reflected in 1,2 Nephi and Ether of the Book of Mormon. By including the names of chiefs number-

ing more than four score, each in succession to the others, it implies a time span of at least a millennium.¹²

While Joseph Smith viewed his work as that of a humble translator of an inspired document, there is every reason to suppose he would have found Rafinesque's translation of the Walam Olum of great interest—had he known of it—for it appears to support the Book of Mormon. Even if Smith would have scorned the secular support of the Walam Olum for what was, to him, a divine revelation, the early Mormon apologists might well have embraced the evidence of the Walam Olum. That they did not, and instead drew on weaker evidence from Rafinesque's pen, strongly suggests that the Walam Olum was totally unknown to the early Mormons.

Rafinesque's alleged association with Mormonism stems from an early misunderstanding of his ethnological studies and a later misreading of a secondary text. The biologist David Starr Jordan, who probably had little interest in this aspect of Rafinesque's work, wrote that:

He took much delight in the study of the customs and languages of the Indians. In so doing, if the stories are true, he became, in a measure, one of the ancestors of Mormonism; for it is said that his suggestion that the Indians came from Asia by way of Siberia, and were perhaps the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel, gave the first suggestion to Solomon Spaulding, on which he built his book of the prophet Mormon. In any case, whether this be true or not, it is certain that Rafinesque is still cited as high authority by the Latter-day Saints when the genuineness of the Book of Mormon is questioned.¹³

This is egregiously wrong on two counts; but, while “high authority” stresses too much Rafinesque's position among Mormon apologists, it does point to the second source of confusion. It was wrong for Jordan to imply that Rafinesque defended the Lost Ten Tribes theory, for in his letter to the Rev. Ethan Smith he advanced ten arguments to disprove Smith's theory. He was still harping on the same theme six years later for, in a published letter challenging another speculative historian to debate, he promised to prove that “many nations came to America before and after the floods; but no Jews ever came there before Columbus” and that “our American Indians have no Jewish custom, but what is common to ancient usages before Moses.”¹⁴ Jordan's allusion to Spaulding concerns the canard, often repeated in the nineteenth

century, that the Book of Mormon largely derived from a “lost manuscript” produced solely by the imagination of Spaulding. Though the Spaulding thesis has since been exploded,¹⁵ Jordan betrays his ignorance of Mormon affairs even further by appearing to attribute the Book of Mormon itself to Spaulding rather than to Joseph Smith.

While we would not expect Jordan, who specialized in ichthyology (a subject which brought Rafinesque to his attention, because Rafinesque published the first book on Ohio River fishes), to cast much light on the Mormons or on Rafinesque’s studies in prehistory, this paragraph appears to be the earliest example of the confusion that has followed among more serious students of Mormon thought. Thus Ström writes that the “only Mormonologist, as far as I know, who mentions the Walam Olum, is Linn, who gives the information that the Mormon theologian and apostle, Orson Pratt, one of Smith’s first followers, tried to support the reliability of the prophet’s hieroglyphics by pointing out the equivalents to those of Rafinesque,” and goes on to speculate that “a not unlikely possibility is that Smith (as we know to have been the case with Orson Pratt) had known or heard about the Walam Olum”¹⁶ before he translated—as he viewed his effort—the golden plates revealed to him by the angel Moroni.

In fact, all Linn says is that “Orson Pratt, in his ‘Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon,’ thought that he found substantial support for Smith’s hieroglyphics in the fact that ‘Two years after the Book of Mormon appeared in print, Professor Rafinesque, in his *Atlantic Journal* for 1832, gave to the public a facsimile of American glyphs, found in Mexico.’”¹⁷ Ström’s misreading of this passage results from the ambiguity of that deceptive word “American,” for, in truth, Linn says nothing at all about the Walam Olum, and this narrative of the northern woodland Indians was not shared by the indigenous peoples of present-day Mexico. Nor is there any evidence in his pamphlet that Orson Pratt had ever heard of the Walam Olum. Seeking to defend the Book of Mormon, had either Pratt or Smith known about the Walam Olum it is likely Pratt would have cited it, for, as subsequent scholarship has shown, its parallels with the narrative of the Book of Mormon are far more striking than the flimsy evidence Pratt was able to derive from the Rafinesque source known to him.

Orson Pratt grasped at Rafinesque's observation that the Mexican glyphs "are written from top to bottom, like the Chinese, or from side to side indifferently like the Egyptian,"¹⁸ for he needed to establish a prehistoric connection between the New World and ancient Egypt. Pratt concludes by saying that "most of the Book of Mormon was written from side to side, like the Egyptian. Indeed, it was written in the ancient Egyptian [language], reformed by the remnant of the tribe of Joseph."¹⁹ He conveniently ignored Rafinesque's further observation that his analysis of the language of the glyphs showed that its writers were "intimately connected with the Pelagian nations of Greece, Italy, and Spain; but much less so with the Egyptian from whom they however borrowed perhaps their graphic system."²⁰

These "American glyphs, found in Mexico," had nothing at all to do with the Walam Olum or the Delaware Indians; they were Mayan symbols, of which, in truth, Rafinesque was one of the earliest students. In the article which had come to Pratt's attention Rafinesque reproduced ten of these glyphs in a plate illustrating his "Second Letter to Mr. Champollion on the Graphic Systems of America,"²¹ a letter published rather than actually mailed, for, as mentioned in a postscript, he learned of the death of Champollion while his journal was in the press. Rafinesque's purpose was to emulate François Champollion's study of the Rosetta Stone, hoping to unlock the secret of Mayan writing by a comparison of it with other scripts as Champollion had done for Egyptian hieroglyphics. Appearing in 1832, Rafinesque's illustration was by no means the first because he tells us, in another place,²² his source for it. Nevertheless, the Mayan inscriptions were little known at this time; they were brought to European attention largely by Waldeck's *Voyage Pittoresque* when published in Paris in 1838, and in the United States the Mayan civilization was little known before the publication of John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America* (1841).

Although Rafinesque took his illustration from a book published a decade earlier, he was also personally in touch with explorations going on at the time he wrote. There was an exchange of letters between him and Jean Frédéric Waldeck and between him and the even less well-known explorer of Palenque, Francisco Corroy.²³ Moreover, he presented some of the conclusions of his antiquarian

researches to Stephens himself on the eve of the latter's departure for Central America.²⁴ This little-known episode toward the end of his life shows Rafinesque in the vanguard of a line of investigation having immense consequences for prehistory, though these would become clear only long after his death in 1840.

Because this involvement with Mayan epigraphy is so little known (it appears in none of the biographical sketches of Rafinesque), it comes as no surprise that Linn was unimpressed by Rafinesque's study, though he did correctly observe that "these 'elementary glyphs' of Rafinesque are some of the characters found on the famous 'Tablet of the Cross' in the ruins of Palenque."²⁵ Because Rafinesque's research was purely linguistic, it is unfortunate that a red herring bearing the provocative name Tablet of the Cross gets involved in a discussion already fraught with polemical dimensions.²⁶ Rafinesque himself had nothing to say about the prominent Latin cross in the drawing from which he obtained his glyphs.

Linn's book is a sustained criticism of Mormonism, while Pratt's pamphlet is of course a defense. Both Linn and Pratt would have been dismayed to know where Rafinesque's studies finally led him. His analysis of the Mayan language led to a conclusion which *directly opposes* the Mormon doctrine that the first people to arrive on the shores of the New World started from Egypt, then crossed through all of Asia, and at last voyaged over the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean for 344 days to reach their new home.

In the article found by Pratt, Rafinesque took ten of the forty Mayan glyphs appearing on the largest of the unnumbered plates in del Rio's book and from these derived sixteen alphabetic "letters" (several of which he listed in variant forms, making 46 in all),²⁷ which in turn he equated with the sixteen "letters" of a demotic Libyan alphabet, used, he said, by the Tuarics "until superceded by the Arabic." The Tuarics, he went on to tell Champollion, are "a modern branch of the Atlantes"—which makes clear that Rafinesque's intention was to show through linguistic analysis that the Mayas of Mesoamerica had come, via the Atlantic, from North Africa. Scanty as his evidence was, in fairness to him it should also be noted that Rafinesque considered his study a trial endeavor subject to error, for, unlike Champollion, "we have not here the more certain demonstration of Bilingual inscriptions."²⁸

Rafinesque's theories about the peopling of the New World underwent changes through time that need not be recounted here. It is sufficient to note that, like other Americans of his day, he was unable to believe that the savage Red Indians known to him in person could be the descendants of the civilized architects and engineers who had raised the impressive earthworks found in abundance in the regions of the Middle West which he had experienced first hand. Hence the need to explain these structures as the work of a vanished race of "Mound Builders." Because even more impressive architectural ruins were being uncovered in Mexico and Central America, it was an easy step to conclude that the "Mound Builders," having been driven south by the ancestors of the Indians, continued there to erect an even higher civilization until the coming of the Spaniards.

Basically, with several variations in detail as his experience deepened and his reading widened, this was Rafinesque's view: it required not one but two mass migrations to the New World in prehistoric times. The first migration, to cite one of his earlier explications, was that of the "Atalans" who established an empire whose "metropolis stood somewhere on the Ohio" River—that is, in the very heart of the mound country. Because of the name one expects Rafinesque to allude to Plato's lost continent of Atlantis. Rather, in his bibliography of works consulted, he lists "Diodorus [Siculus], history," which is an adequate source for the Atlantis legend; but he gives the legend a twist of his own when he writes that the emigrants, driven by the Trade Winds, landed in the West Indies, calling them the "Antila Islands, which meant before the land, and America was called Atala or Great Atlantes."²⁹

Long after this migration but "nearly two thousand years ago, great revolutions happened in the north of Asia" with the result that "a swarm of barbarous nations emigrating from Tatary and Siberia spread destruction from Europe to America." It was these people who, "crossing Behring Strait on the ice, at various times," at last reached the North American continent from the West.³⁰ Among them were the ancestors of the Lenapes, called Delawares by the whites. It was, of course, the Lenapes who are alleged to have retained the memory of this migration in their epic, the Walam Olum.

As the Walam Olum is a Lenape document, it cannot contain the history of the Atalans, who came from the East and were the ancestors of the Lenapes' foes, but in Rafinesque's version it is possible to interpret the Talligewis, named in the Walam Olum as the hereditary enemies of the Lenapes in the New World, as the descendants of the Atalans. None of this, however, is germane to the issue of Walam Olum influence on the Book of Mormon.

To return to the question at hand, it will be seen that had Orson Pratt understood the implications of Rafinesque's study of Mayan glyphs, he would have been led to an Atlantic migration of peoples—which contributes nothing to the “divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon”; rather, contradicts its account of a migration via the Pacific. If Linn had understood Pratt it would have been unnecessary for him to attack the credibility of Rafinesque,³¹ because Rafinesque's study known to Pratt did nothing to support Pratt's thesis. And if Ström had understood Linn he would have had to adduce better evidence than Rafinesque's translation of the Walam Olum—a document known neither to Pratt nor to Linn—to argue for its influence on the Book of Mormon.

Transylvania University,
Lexington, Kentucky 40508

CHARLES BOEWE

* Some parts of this essay came to hand as a consequence of my editing for publication the papers of C. S. Rafinesque (1783-1840). The author of several hundred titles, Rafinesque is best known to historians of science since the bulk of his writing consists of taxonomic contributions to the life sciences. I am grateful to Glenn N. Rowe, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for Mormon materials, and to George E. Stuart, National Geographic Society, for Mayanist materials.

¹ The modern source for this misunderstanding is Åke V. Ström's otherwise excellent article, “Red Indian Elements in Early Mormonism,” *Temenos*, 5 (1969), 120-168. The error is repeated in Elémire Zolla, *The Writer and the Shaman* (New York, 1973), a translation of *I letterati e lo sciamano* (1969). As will be seen, however, misunderstanding about Rafinesque's role in Mormon history began as early as 1886.

² Comparatists such as Werner Müller, *Die Religionen der Waldlandindianer Nordamerikas* (Berlin, 1956), and Josef Haekel, “Der Hochgottglaube der Delawaren im Lichte ihrer Geschichte,” *Ethnologica*, n.s. 2 (1960), 439-484, use the Walam Olum in their studies but have questioned the reliability of Rafinesque's text. “Some

[American] anthropologists," writes a recent student of the Delawares, "reject the Walam Olum, as a fake," though he does not name the anthropologists who take such a suspicious view. (C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* [New Brunswick, 1972], p. 80.) Quite apart from the question of whether Rafinesque invented the document (probably he did not), students of comparative religion ought to consider the high probability that the narrative of the Walam Olum contains extraneous elements learned by the Delawares from Christian missionaries. This issue is addressed by William W. Newcomb, Jr., "The Walam Olum of the Delaware Indians in Perspective," *Texas Journal of Science*, 7 (1955), 57-63, who concludes (p. 62) that it is "an adjunct of the nativistic movement" looking back to a Golden Age that never was.

³ *Atlantic Journal and Friend of Knowledge*, 1 (1832), 98-101. Published by Rafinesque in Philadelphia, this journal contained, almost exclusively, his own writings. The quoted passage is prefatory to a published letter addressed to the Rev. Ethan Smith (author of *Views of the Hebrews*, 1823) which Rafinesque had printed earlier in the *Saturday Evening Post*, 12 September 1829, and is here reprinting in his own journal.

⁴ Paul Weer, "History of the Walam Olum Manuscript and Painted Records," *Walam Olum or Red Score, the Migration Legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians: A New Translation, Interpreted by Linguistic, Historical, Archaeological, Ethnological, and Physical Anthropological Studies* (Indianapolis, 1954), pp. 243-272. This volume also contains a photographic reproduction of the entire Rafinesque manuscript. Well that it does, for in recent years the manuscript itself has disappeared from the University of Pennsylvania library.

⁵ C. S. Rafinesque, *The American Nations* (Philadelphia, 1836), I, 121-161.

⁶ Fitch Family Papers, Yale University.

⁷ The date of the visit to Palmyra is supplied in the journal kept by Joseph Henry, a student member of the group. (Nathan Reingold, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Henry* [Washington, D.C., 1972], I, 153.) In his autobiography Rafinesque also mentions visiting Palmyra, without giving the exact date. (*A Life of Travels* [Philadelphia, 1836], p. 82.)

⁸ Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (2nd. ed.; New York, 1971), pp. 30-32.

⁹ Rafinesque wrote that neither he nor anyone known to him could translate the Lenape words until he undertook, "by the help of Zeisberger, Heckewelder and a manuscript dictionary, on purpose to translate them, which I only accomplished in 1833." (*The American Nations*, I, 151.)

¹⁰ John Heckewelder, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations . . .," *Transactions of the Historical & Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, 1 (1819), 1-348.

¹¹ The reading of Book III of the Walam Olum as a migration from Asia to North America is partly a matter of literary interpretation. Daniel G. Brinton, one of the earliest students of the subject, understood the text to mean that the Lenape originated in Labrador. (D. G. Brinton, *The Lenâpé and Their Legends* [Philadelphia, 1885], p. 165.) Moreover, Rafinesque understood the poem to mean that the journey took place "over the ice" bridging the Bering Strait. The Book of Mormon has the people travel in eight vessels.

¹² Using data from the records of other primitive people, Eli Lilly calculated that the average length of the reign of each chief might be put at 13.67 years. ("Speculations on the Chronology of the Walum Olum and the Migration of the Lenape," *Walam Olum or Red Score* [Indianapolis, 1954], pp. 276-277.)

¹³ David Starr Jordan, "Rafinesque," *Popular Science Monthly*, 29 (1886), 217. A more accessible version of Jordan's essay, which helped to spread his misconceptions, appeared, pp. 182-195, in William Jay Youmans, *Pioneers of Science in America* (New York, 1896).

¹⁴ *The Troy [N.Y.] Whig*, January 20, 1835. The author challenged was Josiah Priest, whose book *American Antiquities and Discoveries in the West* (Albany, 1833) had roused Rafinesque's ire.

¹⁵ By Brodie, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, "The Spaulding-Rigdon Theory," pp. 442-456. As recently as 1977, however, the Spaulding origin for the Book of Mormon was revived by Howard Davis citing new evidence. (Jeffrey Goodman, *American Genesis* [New York, 1981], p. 29.)

¹⁶ Ström, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

¹⁷ William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1902), p. 87.

¹⁸ Rafinesque, *Atlantic Journal*, 1 (1832), 43.

¹⁹ Orson Pratt, *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (Liverpool, 1851), p. 88.

²⁰ *Atlantic Journal*, 1 (1832), 41.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41. The plate serves as a frontispiece for No. 2 ("Summer of 1832") of the *Journal*. In addition, Rafinesque had struck off separately 1,000 copies of the plate, which may therefore have received relatively wide distribution, for only 500 copies of No. 2 of the *Journal* were printed. (Rafinesque, MS Day-Book, at the Library Company of Philadelphia.)

²² Alluding to "the inscriptions on the ruins of the ancient city of Otolum, near Palenque," he says that "it is from the plates of Del Rio, that I have been enabled already to ascertain the nature of the characters inscribed in the walls of this American Thebes" (Rafinesque, "Important Historical and Philological Discovery," *Saturday Evening Post*, 6 [13 January 1827], 2). The book in question is the 1822 London translation of Antonio del Rio, *Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City, Discovered near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala*, published with a commentary by Paul Felix Cabrera which argues Egyptian descent for the ancient inhabitants of Palenque. Unnumbered, the plates clearly have only a casual relation to del Rio's 1787 report. As identified in the plate used as a frontispiece, they were in fact from the pen of J. F. Waldeck and hence are contemporaneous with the publication of the book.

²³ Samuel Akerly reported to the Lyceum of Natural History of New York, 23 September 1833, on correspondence with the explorers Waldeck and Corroy that had been reaching New York for some time. Although this report does not appear in the Lyceum's *Annals* it is given in some detail in *The Knickerbocker*, 2 (July-December 1833), 371-382, an article in turn reprinted in the obscure *Family Magazine, or Weekly Abstract of General Knowledge* [New York], 1 (January-February 1834), 307-309, 315-317, 323-325, 331-332. In both versions there appears a lengthy extract from a letter by Rafinesque to Corroy, the holograph of which has not been found. There is, however, the holograph of a twelve-page letter by Corroy to Rafinesque, 20 August 1834, preserved at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Rafinesque printed a brief portion of a letter sent him by Waldeck (30 January 1834) in his *Bulletin No. 1 of the Historical and Natural Sciences* (Philadelphia, 1834), pp. 5-6. There is no evidence to indicate whether he was aware that his correspondent Waldeck drew the glyphs on which he based his study of the Mayan language. Earlier, the *Family Magazine* had reprinted in entirety the short text of del Rio's *Description* (1 [December 1833], 266-267, 275-276, 283, 290-291), as well as three of Waldeck's plates, none of which appeared in *The Knickerbocker* magazine.

²⁴ This was Rafinesque's pamphlet, *The Ancient Monuments of North and South America* (Philadelphia, 1838). Writing to the dramatist John Howard Payne, Rafinesque asked his correspondent to ascertain whether Stephens had received the pamphlet and mentioned that he had forgotten to enclose his "American Alphabet of Otolum or Palenque"; that is, the separately published plate from the *Atlantic Journal*. (ALS, Rafinesque to Payne, 10 October 1839; Columbia University Library.)

²⁵ Linn, *op. cit.*, p. 88. It appears that the only professional Mayanist to recognize Rafinesque's pioneering work is Günter Zimmermann, who acknowledged the significance of the *Atlantic Journal* article, and wrote that "por esta amplia dedicación a los glifos mayas" Rafinesque "se le puede señalar con toda justicia como el fundador de la investigación de los glifos mayas." ("La escritura jeroglífica y el calendario como indicadores de tendencias en la historia cultural de los Mayas," *Desarrollo cultural de los Mayas*, ed. by Evon Z. Vogt y Alberto Ruz L. [Mexico, 1961], pp. 246-247.)

²⁶ Linn (p. 88) invites inspection of "a facsimile of the entire Tablet [of the Cross]" in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States* (New York, 1874-76), IV, 355. This contributes to the confusion because Bancroft's source (Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Monuments anciens du Mexique*, 1866) had split the panel into two parts, with the result that Bancroft's plate on p. 335, titled "Hieroglyphics—Tablet of the Cross," contains none of the glyphs used by Rafinesque.

²⁷ The glyphs used by Rafinesque were copied with such fidelity that they may have been traced from the plate in del Rio. They appear immediately behind the male figure on the right hand side of the plate and in the same vertical order as in Rafinesque's illustration. Like most of his publications, Rafinesque's *Atlantic Journal* is extremely difficult to find today in the original edition; however, it can be seen in a microfiche (B-8100/1) produced by the Inter Documentation Company, Zug, Switzerland, and in a photolithographed edition issued by the Arnold Arboretum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. In the latter, the plate, titled "Tabular View of the Compared Atlantic Alphabets & Glyphs of Africa and America," has been bound as the frontispiece of the volume.

²⁸ *Atlantic Journal*, 1 (1832), 43.

²⁹ Rafinesque, *Ancient History or Annals of Kentucky* (Frankfort, Ky., 1824), pp. 13-14. This 44 pp. pamphlet originally appeared as an introduction to Humphrey Marshall's *History of Kentucky* (1824); Rafinesque later acknowledged its shortcomings. The only historian to give Rafinesque's theory serious attention has been Z. F. Smith, who wrote "Pre-Historic People of Kentucky: The Story of Rafinesque of the Great Atalan Empire in the Ohio Valley Four Thousand Years Ago," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, 6 (May 1908), 19-30, where he provided appropriate classical evidence, as Rafinesque had not, by citing Plato, Theopom-pus, Timagenes, and Proclus.

³⁰ *Ancient History or Annals of Kentucky*, p. 23. Rafinesque's theories were elaborated at greater length in the two volumes of *The American Nations* (Philadelphia, 1836). One of his last publications where such speculation appears is the pamphlet *The Ancient Monuments of North and South America* (Philadelphia, 1838); there he says succinctly (p. 10) that "Europe and Africa have been repeatedly invaded by migrations from Asia. In America such migrations can be traced north and east by the Atlantic ocean, or north west from Behring's strait. . . ."

³¹ "Rafinesque was a voluminous writer both on archaeological and botanical subjects, but wholly untrustworthy," he says, citing two critical botanists and R. E. Call, Rafinesque's first biographer who was also a natural scientist. While Rafinesque's hurried studies in many fields leave much to be desired, these "authorities" referred to by Linn had a contemptuous indifference to Rafinesque's antiquarian and linguistic research, which has yet to be fully understood.

BOOK REVIEWS

DREI COLLOQUIA

L'expérience de la prière dans les grandes religions, Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve et Liège, (22-23 Novembre 1978) édités par Henri Limet et Julien Ries, Homo religiosus 5 — Louvain-la-Neuve, Centre d'histoire des religions, 1980, 474 p.

Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979, edited by David Hellholm — Tübingen, J. C. B Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983, ISBN 3-16-144460-4

Le mythe, son langage et son message, Actes du Colloque de Liège et Louvain-la-Neuve 1981 édités par H. Limet et J. Ries, Homo religiosus 9 — Louvain-la-Neuve, Centre d'histoire des religions, 1983, 471 p.

In 1978 fand ein Colloquium über das Gebet statt, an dem etwa 25 Spezialisten aus Löwen und Lüttich und vier Gäste beteiligt waren. Ein internationaler Gelehrtenkreis beschäftigte sich im nächsten Jahre in Uppsala mit Apokalyptik. Und in 1981 trafen wiederum Wissenschaftler aus Lüttich und Löwen mit Gästen zusammen; diesmal war das Thema der Mythos.

Drei Bände bilden das reiche Ergebnis: zwei französische, und *Apocalypticism* mit deutschen, englischen und französischen Beiträgen. Der erste behandelt “l’expérience religieuse de la prière dans les religions et les cultes du Proche-Orient ancien, dans l’antiquité classique, la Bible, le monachisme et la liturgie, le gnosticisme et l’Église de Mani, et l’Islam”. Auch Gebet und Mystizismus, Renaissance und Reformation werden berücksichtigt.

Das zweite Buch erörtert die Vorstellungswelt der Apokalyptik, die Literaturgattung Apokalypse, die soziologischen Voraussetzungen der Apokalyptik und die Funktion der Apokalypsen. Es soll als ein richtiges Handbuch der Apokalyptikforschung betrachtet werden.

Nach einer eingehenden Einführung beschäftigt der dritte Band sich mit “le mythe comme langage et comme message dans les religions orientales, le monde grec et les traditions orales” und behandelt “quelques aspects de l’universalité et de la permanence du langage mythique”. Wie

die zwei vorhergehenden schließt dieses Buch mit einer Bewertung der Beiträge.

Die drei Volumen stellen der Religionswissenschaft, und nicht nur ihr, eine üppige Ernte zur Verfügung.

M. H. v. V.

FERNANDEZ, James W., *Bwiti - An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa* - Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1982, xii, 731 pages, figures, photographs, cloth \$110.50, paper \$32.50.

This account of Bwiti, a religion among Fang and others in West Africa's Equatorial Forest, is a magnificent book. Based primarily on intensive fieldwork from 1958 to 1960, the account has all the hallmarks of having been considered deeply over twenty years. The nub of Fernandez's own interpretation is that Bwiti is a creative triumph of the religious imagination in the face of the dislocating experiences which colonial domination set in train. But the account is highly reflexive, and Fernandez takes great care to give his own interpretation while entering into a dialogue with the interpretations of others, including those of missionaries, administrators and earlier ethnographers. This care extends to the many voices and varied opinions within the religion's chapels. The members are shown to disagree about belief and practice while being urged to unity: 'the reality of the religion is a dynamic and ambiguous organization of diversity'.

The continuous argument that emerges flows through a rounded ethnography with vignettes of recognizable individuals acting in everyday life, through finely documented historical analysis, and through subtle translations of the imagery in song, dance, sermon and, indeed, in all the activities which qualify the space of ritual among Fang. Fernandez's appreciation of the felt qualities of movement in sacred space is quite simply brilliant. No earlier study of an African religion or 'revitalization movement' (Fernandez's label) has gone so far in enabling us to see how and why people try to reconstruct a world as an integral whole out of the remains of their past, the cultural ambiguities of their present, and the bits of their perception of Christian and other alien traditions.

Fernandez rightly warns against the gross error of typing Bwiti as a separatist sect or independent form of Christianity. Bwiti is not Christocentric. The crucifixion is held to have laid a curse or debt upon mankind, rather than salvation. Yet Jesus Christ is a saviour, vital in

mediation: He is understood in the light of a traditional figure, the *nganga*, who is a clairvoyant healer, able to see the unseen and thus able to save by guiding mankind to find the Path. The mediation extends to the paradox of knowing God in man and man in God; and this is expressed in sermons through a characteristic play on words associating part of Christ's name, Eyene (He Who Sees) with *yena* 'mirror'. Thus Christ known as He Who Sees God comes to be interpreted as God's reflection, and since Christ is known, too, as the Child of Man, He is also 'the reflection, the mirror, in which mankind can see themselves'.

What is envisioned and enacted in Bwiti is, most crucially, a ritual passage from despair, confused wandering and cold loneliness, the sought-for end being the recovery of tranquility and oneheartedness. With the aid of a drug, the hallucinogen *tabernanthe eboga*, Fang seek to move as Angels, Banzie, along a 'Path of Birth and Death'. Their main intent in the ritual is to restore a flow of powerful benevolence and fertility by restoring communication with their ancestors and through them with God, Zame, and most importantly, His Sister, Nyingwan Mebege: She is the 'universal matrix and source of knowledge'. To achieve that restoration, Fang resort, not to their own language, the language of their abandoned ancestor cult, but to an exotic sort of church 'Latin', Popi, which most Fang little understand and which is derived from the language of neighbours to the south.

The direction of religious borrowing needs to be stressed, perhaps even more than Fernandez suggests. Bwiti is itself the name of an ancestral cult which Fang took from southerners and first modified around the time of the First World War. According to a primary axis in Fang spatial orientation, southerners are backward inferiors, displaced autochthons speaking gibberish by contrast to northerners who are regarded as like Fang themselves but 'more progressive, more powerful and more successfully adapted to the modern world'. It would be a mistake, however, to infer from this that in Bwiti Fang simply turn their backs on modernity when they pursue a quest for a primordial state of being. Fernandez makes the point that Bwiti develops through 'the syncretic tension between the search for "saving circularities" of an older world view and a more modern commitment to the sequential transformation of religious experience which is not only assuaging to troubled states but redemptive-converting'.

The book is divided into three parts. The first illuminates the emergence of personal and social malaise along with cultural disintegration among Fang. One important suggestion, among others, concerns a disturbance in what was a traditional consonance between the body,

house-structure, sex roles and cosmic order. This disturbance undermined the sense of the self as a unity and exacerbated the experience Fang came to have of a decentered universe. Later Fernandez clarifies how Bwiti achieves a new consonance and a moral movement to a fuller self. In the second part of the book, the discussion starts from the old Fang religious life with its ancestor and initiation cults and then turns to mission Christianity, tracing a history of Fang-missionary misinterpretations. Finally comes the book's most innovative part, when Fernandez addresses himself directly to Bwiti, the pleasures and moral order of its liturgy, the play of imagery in its sermons, its selective recruitment of membership, its dreams and visions, its 'architectonics' (by which he means the significance and tone given to an architectural space, for example that of the chapel, by activity within it). Much of the discussion turns on the nature of what Fernandez calls an "argument of images". The 'argument of images' refers to the way that discontinuities and contradictions between disparate levels or domains of experience are bridged through imagery and a convergence is established between the past and the present. Viewed as a whole, *Bwiti* is a major contribution to our understanding of the aesthetics of religious experience.

University of Manchester

R. P. WERBNER

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Periodicals

- Biblica 65 (1984), 2, 3, 4; 66 (1985), 1.
Bulletin Signalétique 527, Histoire et Sciences des Religions 38 (1984), 1, 2, 3, 4,
tables annuelles; 39 (1985), 1.
Byzantinoslavica 44 (1983), 2; 45 (1984), 2.
Folklore 95 (1984), 1, 2.
History of Religions 23 (1983/4), 3, 4; 24 (1984/5), 1.
Monumenta Nipponica 39 (1984), 2, 3, 4; 40 (1985), 1.
Religion 14 (1984), 1, 2, 3, 4.
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 201 (1984), 2, 3, 4.
Revue théologique de Louvain 15 (1984), 2, 3, 4.
Saeculum 34 (1983), 2, 3-4; 35 (1984), 1, 2.
Tabona N. S. 4 (1983).
Theologische Zeitschrift 40 (1984), 2, 3, 4.

Books

(Listing in this section does not preclude subsequent reviewing)

- Boal, Barbara M., The Konds, human sacrifice and religious change — Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1982, ISBN 085668 154 7
Textes sacrés et textes profanes de l'ancienne Égypte, I, Des Pharaons et des hommes, Traductions et commentaires par Claire Lalouette, Préface de Pierre Grimal, Connaissance de l'Orient, Collection UNESCO d'œuvres représentatives 54, série Égypte ancienne — Paris, Gallimard, 1984, ISBN 2-07-070142-5
Meyers, Éric M. — James F. Strange, Les rabbins et les premiers chrétiens, Archéologie et histoire — Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984, ISBN 2-204-02107-5
Corbi, Mariano, La necesaria relatividad cultural de los sistemas de valores humanos: mitologías, ideologías, ontologías y formaciones religiosas, Análisis Epistemológico de las configuraciones axiológicas humanas, Acta Salmanticensia iussu Senatus Universitatis edita, Filosofía y Letras 146 — Instituto Científico Interdisciplinar de Barcelona, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1983, ISBN 84-7481-251-8
Chappaz, Jean-Luc, Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes du Musée d'art et d'histoire et de quelques collections privées = Aegyptiaca Helvetica 10 — Genève, 1984, ISBN 2-8306-0004-5
Mann, Richard D., The Light of Consciousness, Explorations in Transpersonal Psychology — Albany, State University of New York Press, 1984, ISBN 0-87395-906-X
Gasparro, Giulia Sfameni, Gnostica et hermetica, Saggi sullo gnosticismo e sull'ermetismo, Nuovi Saggi 82 — Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1982, 386 p.
Ladrière, Jean, L'articulation du sens, I, Discours scientifique et parole de la foi; II, Les langages de la foi, Cogitatio Fidei 124, 125 — Paris, Les éditions du cerf, 1984, ISBN 2-204-02142-3/02155-5

OBITUARY

In memoriam Étienne Lamotte (1903-1983)

Am 5. Mai 1983 verstarb in Brüssel Mgr. Étienne Paul Marie Lamotte im Alter von 79 Jahren nach längerer schwerer Krankheit. Er wurde am 21. November 1903 in Dinant (Belgien) geboren. Sein Vater Georges Lamotte (1861-1952) war Präsident des dortigen Gerichtshofs und gleichzeitig als Historiker wissenschaftlich tätig. Étienne Lamotte besuchte in den Jahren 1915 bis 1920 das Collège Notre-Dame de Belle-Vue in seiner Heimatstadt. Anschließend bezog er die Université Catholique de Louvain (Leuven). Hier widmete er sich zunächst dem Studium der klassischen Philologie und der Philosophie, später auch der Indologie und der Indogermanistik. 1923 erhielt er das Baccalaureat für Philosophie, 1925 das Licentiat für orientalische Sprachen, nachdem er das Examen in den Fächern Sanskrit, Awestisch, Armenisch, Vergleichende indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft sowie Geschichte der Religionen und Philosophien Indiens mit Auszeichnung bestanden hatte.

Anschließend widmete sich Étienne Lamotte theologischen Studien in der belgischen Erzbischofsstadt Mechelen, leistete den vorgeschriebenen Militärdienst ab und setzte dann seine theologischen Studien an der Università della Sapienza in Rom fort. In dieser Zeit wurde er zum römisch-katholischen Geistlichen geweiht. Nach Belgien zurückgekehrt, lehrte Étienne Lamotte in den Jahren 1928 bis 1930 am Collège Saint-Pierre in Leuven. Neben seiner Lehrtätigkeit führte er seine früher begonnenen orientalischen Studien an der Universität in Leuven fort. Wie er mir selbst einmal erzählte, hatte der Erzbischof damals weitreichende Pläne für seine Zukunft als Geistlicher; doch blieb er seinem eigenen Ziel treu, die orientalistischen Studien in Leuven fortzusetzen. Im Juli 1929 wurde Étienne Lamotte zum Doctor linguarum orientalium sowie 1930 aufgrund seiner Dissertation *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* zum Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres promoviert. 1930 erhielt er das erste Laureat du Concours universitaire 1928-1930 auf dem Gebiet der orientali-

schen Sprachen sowie bald danach im Dezember 1930 ein Reisestipendium für Studien in Paris, das damals eine Blütezeit der indologischen und buddhologischen Forschung erlebte. Hier waren Paul Demiéville, Alfred Foucher, Marcelle Lalou, Sylvain Lévi und Jean Przyluski seine Lehrer.

In Paris erhielten die Interessen Étienne Lamottes jene Ausrichtung, durch deren konsequente Weiterführung er später selbst zum bedeutendsten Buddhismusforscher seiner Generation werden sollte. Entscheidende Anregungen für seine wissenschaftlichen Arbeitsmethoden erhielt er von dem Altmeister der Buddhismusforschung Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869-1938), unter dessen Leitung er nach seiner Rückkehr aus Paris seine Studien fortsetzte. Louis de La Vallée Poussin war 1894 Professor an der Universität von Gent geworden. Hier hatte er wegen des flämisch-wallonischen Sprachenstreits 1929 seine planmäßige Lehrtätigkeit eingestellt und sich nun ausschließlich seinen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten gewidmet. Étienne Lamotte wurde sein letzter persönlicher Schüler.

Im Jahre 1932 erhielt Étienne Lamotte einen Lehrauftrag an der Universität in Leuven, der ihn zunächst sowohl zu indologischen und buddhologischen wie auch noch zu gräzistischen Lehrveranstaltungen verpflichtete. Im Jahre 1937 wurde er zum ordentlichen Professor ernannt. Im Laufe seiner Tätigkeit an der Université Catholique de Louvain hat Étienne Lamotte mehrere wichtige Universitätsämter bekleidet. So nahm er 1950 bis 1959 die Leitung des Institut Orientaliste der Universität wahr und amtierte 1952 als Dekan der Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres.

1951 ist Étienne Lamotte zum korrespondierenden und 1959 zum ordentlichen Mitglied der Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique gewählt worden, wo er die von Louis de La Vallée Poussin begründete Tradition der Förderung buddhistischer Studien in der Akademie weiterführte. Étienne Lamotte sind in Anerkennung seiner überragenden wissenschaftlichen Leistungen zahlreiche Ehrungen zuteil geworden, von denen ich hier nur einige anführen möchte: 1952 Wahl zum Ehrenmitglied der École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1960 der Société Asiatique in Paris, 1967 der Royal Asiatic Society in London, 1976 der International Association of Buddhist Studies usw. Mehrere ausländische wissenschaftliche Akademien haben ihn zu ihrem Mit-

glied gewählt, so 1969 die Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in Paris, 1968 die China Academy in Taipei, 1970 die British Academy in London und 1972 die Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Die Universitäten von Gent, von Rom und von Kälaniya (Sri Lanka) haben ihm ihre Ehrendoktorwürden verliehen.

Étienne Lamotte ist auch von seiten der kirchlichen Autoritäten volle Anerkennung seiner wissenschaftlichen Leistungen und vor allem auch seines Beitrags zur Verständigung zwischen Christen und Buddhisten zuteil geworden. 1941 erhielt er die Würde eines Canonicus ehrenhalber im erzbischöflichen Dom zu Mechelen. 1954 ernannte ihn Papst Paul VI. zum Berater und 1968 zum Korrespondenten des Secretariatus pro non Christianis. Seit 1964 war Étienne Lamotte Hausprälat S. H. des Papstes. Auch mehrere wissenschaftliche Preise sowie hohe belgische und französische Orden wurden ihm verliehen.

Étienne Lamotte ist der Welt des Buddhismus bis ins hohe Alter nur in ihren schriftlichen Zeugnissen und in persönlichen Gesprächen mit einzelnen in Europa weilenden Buddhisten begegnet. Nur ein einziges Mal in seinem Leben, im Alter von 73 Jahren, bereiste er ein vom Buddhismus geprägtes Land. Als er in der Zeit vom 7. bis zum 22. Oktober 1977 auf Einladung der Japan Foundation Vorträge an mehreren japanischen Universitäten hielt, bereiteten ihm japanische Buddhisten einen geradezu triumphalen Empfang. Als ich fünf Jahre später Japan besuchte, wurde mir noch genau berichtet, wo er gewohnt und wo er Vorträge gehalten hatte, war er damals doch bereits von vielen Buddhisten als eine der bedeutendsten Autoritäten für das richtige Verständnis ihrer Religion anerkannt.

Freunde und Schüler veröffentlichten zu seinem 70. Geburtstag in Leuven eine Biographie und Bibliographie unter dem Titel *Notice sur Mgr E. Lamotte* (Louvain 1972). Die ihm gewidmete Festschrift *Indianisme et bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1980) enthält ebenfalls eine von Daniel-Donnet abgefaßte kurze Biographie und eine Bibliographie (S. VII-XVI).

Étienne Lamotte hat uns ein Lebenswerk hinterlassen, durch das der Stand der Buddhismusforschung von Grund auf verändert worden ist. Sein erstes Buch, die schon erwähnte Dissertation *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* (1929) war zwar noch Fragen der hinduistischen

Philosophie- und Religionsgeschichte gewidmet, die ihn während seiner frühen Studienjahre beschäftigt hatten, doch schon in seiner zweiten Monographie hat er sich dem Themenkreis zugewandt, der für den Rest seines Lebens im Mittelpunkt seiner Interessen stehen sollte: die gründliche Erschließung der Texte des klassischen Mahāyāna sowie ihrer textlichen und geistigen Grundlagen im frühen Buddhismus. Seine erste große Arbeit erschien unter dem Titel *L'Explication des Mystères (Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra), texte tibétain édité et traduit* (Université de Louvain, 1935). Sie enthält eine kommentierte Übersetzung eines im Sanskrit-Original verlorenen, aber in einer tibetischen und in fünf chinesischen Fassungen erhaltenen Werkes der Yogācāra-Schule des indischen Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Bereits diese Übersetzung des Samdhinirmocanasūtra war durch höchste Zuverlässigkeit in der Wiedergabe des Textes in Sinn und Inhalt sowie durch erstaunliche Informationsfülle in den beigegebenen Anmerkungen ausgezeichnet. Wie in allen seinen späteren Arbeiten, gibt Étienne Lamotte der französischen Wiedergabe der philosophischen und dogmatischen Begriffe jeweils die zugrunde liegenden Sanskrit-Bezeichnungen bei, womit eine exakte Bestimmung der Bedeutung unabhängig von der bis heute noch nicht verbindlich festgelegten Übersetzungsterminologie erfolgt.

Schon ein Jahr später konnte das nächste große Werk erscheinen, nämlich die Übersetzung des Karmasiddhiprakarana unter dem Titel *Le Traité de l'Acte de Vasubandhu* (in: *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques IV*, 1936, S. 1-144), also die Bearbeitung einer Abhandlung über die von verschiedenen Richtungen des frühen Buddhismus vertretenen Theorien über das Wesen der Tat (*karma*) und ihrer Wirkungen. In dem Text darf man eine Schrift des großen Philosophen Vasubandhu sehen, dessen Hauptwerk Abhidharmakośa Lamottes Lehrer Louis de La Vallée Poussin erschlossen hatte. Wie das Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra, ist auch das Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa im Sanskrit-Original verloren gegangen, so daß Étienne Lamotte seiner Übersetzung nur die tibetischen und chinesischen Fassungen zugrundelegen konnte. Dasselbe gilt für das dritte große Übersetzungswerk aus dieser Schaffensperiode, *La Somme du Grand Véhicule (Mahāyānasamgraha) d'Asanga* (2 Bände, Louvain 1938-39), das eines der Hauptwerke des großen indischen Yogācāra-Meisters Asanga (4. Jahrh. n. Chr.) zum Gegenstand hat.

Im Jahre 1944 erschien sodann der erste Band des Werkes, das Étienne Lamotte selbst als sein Magnum opus betrachtet hat, nämlich seine ausführlich kommentierte Übersetzung des *Mahāprajñā-pāramitāśūtrapadeśa* (“Auslegung über den großen Lehrtext der Vollkommenheit der Weisheit”). Lamottes Werk trägt den Titel *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)* und erschien in 5 Bänden (I, 1944; II 1949; III 1970; IV 1976; V, 1980) mit 2451 Seiten Text sowie 151 Seiten Einleitung und Bibliographie. Dieser Lehrtext, von Étienne Lamotte meist kurz “der Upadeśa” genannt, ist im noch umfangreicherem Sanskrit-Original verloren gegangen und nur in einer gekürzten chinesischen Übersetzung überliefert worden, die zwischen 404 und 406 n. Chr. von dem aus Zentralasien stammenden Kumārajīva angefertigt wurde. Kumārajīva schrieb das Werk dem Nāgārjuna zu, doch darf man davon ausgehen, daß der Upadeśa nicht ein Werk des berühmten Nāgārjuna gewesen ist, den wir als Autor der *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* und mehrerer anderer philosophischer Grundwerke der Śūnyavāda- oder Mādhyamika-Schule kennen. Der Upadeśa ist nach Lamottes Feststellungen vielmehr im 4. Jahrhundert im Nordwesten Indiens entstanden. Es handelt sich um eine umfassende Darstellung des *Mahāyāna*-Buddhismus in seiner geistigen Auseinandersetzung mit den Lehren des Śrāvakayāna (*Hīnayāna*), also der Lehre der Anhänger der alten Schulen, und zwar in erster Linie mit dem *Sarvāstivāda*. Das Werk darf als eine wirkliche Enzyklopädie des Buddhismus gelten, in der die traditionellen Lehren, wie sie vor allem im Abhidharma und in der Sūtra-Literatur der *Sarvāstivādin* zu finden sind, in großer Ausführlichkeit vorgestellt werden. Ihre Darstellung nimmt sogar mehr Raum ein als ihre Widerlegung vom Standpunkt des *Mahāyāna*, den der Verfasser des Upadeśa vertritt. Es ist gewiß kein Zufall, daß sich mit Étienne Lamotte ein Gelehrter mit beispiellosem enzyklopädischem Wissen über den Buddhismus der Aufgabe gewidmet hat, dieses Werk zu erschließen. Die fünf Bände sind durch die Beifügung von Tausenden ausführlicher Anmerkungen zu einer umfassenden Informationsquelle für die frühe und die klassische buddhistische Überlieferung geworden. Viele dieser Anmerkungen sind kleine Monographien zur Erklärung einzelner Lehrbegriffe, Lehrtexte, Legenden und sonstiger Überlieferungen des indischen Buddhismus. Étienne

Lamotte hat dafür nicht nur die Ergebnisse der modernen, und zwar der westlichen ebenso wie der japanischen Buddhismusforschung umfassend ausgewertet, sondern auch die fast unüberblickbare Fülle der Originaltexte in den indischen Sprachen Sanskrit und Pāli, sowie die Übersetzungen indischer Texte im chinesischen und im tibetischen buddhistischen Kanon. Noch ist diese “Edelsteinmine” buddhologischen Wissens schwer benützbar, weil es kein Register dazu gibt. Dieses wird zur Zeit unter Leitung von Lamottes Schüler Hubert Durt im Institut du Hōbōgirin in Kyoto erarbeitet. Es wird uns die Fülle des in diesen Bänden verborgenen Wissens erst voll erschliessen.

Im Jahre 1958 erschien Lamottes Abhandlung über die ältere Geschichte des indischen Buddhismus unter dem Titel *Histoire du bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère Saka* (Louvain 1958). Wie Hermann Oldenberg mit seinem Werk “Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde” im Jahre 1881 eine ganz neue Epoche der Buddhismusforschung eingeleitet hat, so gilt dasselbe fast 80 Jahre später für Lamottes “Histoire”, ein Werk, dessen Bedeutung für die Buddhologie sich in der Tat nur mit Oldenbergs Buch vergleichen lässt. Auf fast 900 Seiten werden nicht nur die Geschichte, sondern auch die heiligen Schriften, die Lehren und die Überlieferungen des frühen indischen Buddhismus nach dem heutigen Kenntnisstand dargestellt, und zwar wiederum unter umfassender Berücksichtigung abendländischer wie ostasiatischer Forschung. Auch dieses Werk hat noch nicht die Beachtung gefunden, die ihm zukommt. Dies liegt vor allem daran, daß es noch keine englische Übersetzung davon gibt, und daß leider vor allem den meisten unserer indischen Fachkollegen, aber auch vielen unserer Studenten ausreichende Lesekenntnisse der französischen Sprache fehlen. Wie ich erfahre, darf man in absehbarer Zeit mit dem Erscheinen einer englischen (und übrigens auch einer japanischen) Übersetzung dieses Standard- und Meisterwerkes rechnen und damit auch, daß in Zukunft die gesamte Buddhismusforschung aus dieser reichen Quelle schöpfen kann.

Bereits drei Jahre nach diesem großen Kompendium legte Étienne Lamotte seine Übersetzung des Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (*L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, Louvain 1962) vor, eines der bedeutendsten Werke der indischen Mahāyāna-Literatur, wiederum mit

überaus reicher Kommentierung und unter sorgfältigstem Vergleich der — abgesehen von einigen kleinen Bruchstücken des Urtextes — allein erhalten gebliebenen chinesischen und tibetischen Versionen. Der Vimalakīrtinirdeśa gehört bis heute zu den grundlegenden religiösen Bekenntnisschriften aller Formen des Mahāyāna. Weitere drei Jahre später erschien die Übersetzung des Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra (*La Concentration de la Marche heroique*, Bruxelles 1965), eines frühen, ebenfalls der Madhyamaka-Schule des Mahāyāna angehörigen Lehrtextes.

Neben diesen monumentalen Schriften verdanken wir Étienne Lamotte eine größere Anzahl bedeutender wissenschaftlicher Aufsätze, von denen ich hier nur einige ausgewählte Beispiele nennen möchte, durch die er weitere Forschung besonders nachhaltig beeinflußt hat. Dies gilt für die Ausführungen zur buddhistischen Hermeneutik in der Festschrift J. Ph. Vogel 1947 (*La critique d'authenticité dans le bouddhisme*), die Darlegungen über die Ursprünge des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus in der Festschrift F. Weller 1954 (*Sur la formation du Mahāyāna*) ebenso wie für *Le bouddhisme des laïcs* (Festschrift S. Yamaguchi, 1955) und auch für die meisterhaften Monographien über *Mañjuśrī* (T'oung Pao, 1960) und über *Vajrapāṇi en Inde* (Festschrift P. Demiéville, 1966).

Wie bereits oben in der kurzen Biographie Étienne Lamottes erwähnt, ist er wissenschaftlicher Berater des päpstlichen Secretariatus pro non Christianis gewesen. Gleichwohl hat er sich nur an wenigen Stellen seines gewaltigen Lebenswerkes zur Frage des Verhältnisses von Christentum und Buddhismus geäußert. Diesem Thema war sein Akademievortrag *La bienveillance bouddhique* (1952) gewidmet, in dem die in der Literatur äußerst unterschiedlich beurteilte Frage erörtert wird, wie sich die buddhistische *maitrī* zur christlichen Nächstenliebe verhalte. Der Begründer der frühen wissenschaftlichen Buddhismusforschung, Eugène Burnouf (1801-1852), hatte den Buddhismus als “une religion de charité” definiert, und der berühmte Indologe Richard Pischel (1849-1908) hob in diesem Sinn in “Leben und Lehre des Buddha” (1905) hervor, daß die Bedeutung der Nächstenliebe im Buddhismus der im Christentum in keiner Weise nachstehe. Andererseits hat Hermann Oldenberg in seinem grundlegenden Buddha-Buch die Ansicht vertreten, daß die buddhistische und die christliche Konzeption der

Nächstenliebe wenig miteinander gemeinsam hätten; einige der bedeutendsten Buddhologen wie A. Foucher und L. de La Vallée Poussin haben ähnlich gedacht. Étienne Lamotte wehrt sich dagegen, unsere eigenen Denkgewohnheiten unkritisch auf die Beurteilung eines Begriffs anzuwenden, der nur in seinem inneren Zusammenhang mit den Grundvorstellungen der buddhistischen Religion richtig verstanden werden kann. Indem er diesen Zusammenhang herstellt, gibt er seinen Lesern die Mittel an die Hand, die es ermöglichen, sich selbst ein Urteil zu bilden (*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres* 1952, S. 384).

Auch die im Bulletin des "Secretariatus pro non Christianis" (1966, Nr. 3, S. 127-137) enthaltenen *Suggestions concerning contact with the Buddhists* sind konsequent an dem Ziel orientiert, dem Leser die für sein eigenes Urteil nötigen Kenntnisse zu verschaffen. Die äußerst präzise Darstellung der Grundlehren des Buddhismus ist so formuliert, daß sich auch der Buddhist voll damit identifizieren kann. Étienne Lamotte führt uns zu der Einsicht, daß sich die beiden Religionen nicht etwa durch radikale Gegensätze im Bereich des religiösen Lebens oder der Mystik unterscheiden, sondern weil sie voneinander verschiedene philosophische Grundlagen haben. Die Einsicht in diese Verschiedenheit vermag uns dazu zu verhelfen, jene "instinktiven harten Reaktionen" des Abendländers zu vermeiden, die die Gefühle "unserer buddhistischen Brüder verletzen" könnten. Étienne Lamotte stellt hier sechs buddhistische Grundvorstellungen heraus (S. 131):

1. Es gibt keinen Gott, der unser Schicksal bestimmt, sondern es sind allein unsere eigene Handlungen; und so ist es auch nicht Gott, der uns erlöst, sondern eine bestimmte Form der Weisheit vermag unser Handeln zu neutralisieren und uns zur Erlösung zu führen.
2. Diese buddhistische Weisheit besteht in der Erkenntnis der Unbeständigkeit, der Leidensnatur und der Unpersönlichkeit aller Phänomene.
3. Die Erlösung, das Nirvāṇa, ist die restlose Überwindung von Unwissenheit und Leidenschaft, das Ende der Wiedergeburt, weder eine Form von Existenz noch eine Form von Nicht-Existenz.
4. Voraussetzung für das Erlangen dieser Weisheit ist die Sammlung des Geistes. Diese dient allein dem Ziel, sich von allen

Vorstellungen zu befreien; so ist auch die beste aller Meditationen diejenige, die kein Objekt hat.

5. Der Buddha ist nicht die Wahrheit, sondern er hat die Wahrheit entdeckt und sie gelehrt, und damit hat er den Weg zum Nirvāṇa aufgezeigt. Schon im Kontext des frühen Buddhismus scheint es sinnlos, das Wesen des Buddha etwa "im Fleisch", also in seinem vergänglichen Körper sehen zu wollen: Man muß es vielmehr in seiner Lehre sehen. Von den Anhängern des Mahāyāna wird die "absolute Reinheit" der Buddhas postuliert, und diese "absolute Reinheit" ist nichts anderes als die "völlige Nichtexistenz".

6. Die Buddhisten unterwerfen sich einem strengen Sittenge-setz, das inhaltlich weitgehend dem christlichen "Naturrecht" entspricht. Grundlage dieser Ethik ist es, nichts zu tun, was andere Wesen verletzen könnte.

Bereits im Jahre 1959 hatte Étienne Lamotte in drei Vorträgen, die er auf Einladung der Fondazione Giorgi Cini in Venedig gehalten hat, die Grundlehren des frühen Buddhismus zusammengefaßt; diese Vorträge wurden unter dem Titel *Lo spirito del buddhismo antico* veröffentlicht und 1961 von A. Pezzali ins Englische übersetzt. Étienne Lamotte gründete — anders als manche andere neuere Autoren, die meinen, den ursprünglichen Inhalt der Lehre des Buddha im Gegensatz zu einer angeblich mißverstandenen oder gar verfälschten Lehre bestimmen zu können — sein Verständnis der Buddha-Lehre stets auf die Texte und auf traditionelle Interpretationen, soweit diese nicht schlüssig als spätere Zutaten erwiesen werden können. Er sieht im frühen Buddhismus daher in erster Linie "eine moralische Lehre", kaum eine "metaphysische Theorie", zumal für die indische Tradition die Wiederverkörperungslehre keine Theorie, sondern eine feststehende Tatsache ist. Davon ausgehend, erscheint die buddhistische Erlösungslehre tatsächlich weitgehend frei von metaphysischen Theorien. Das Bändchen bildet eine meisterhafte Einführung in das Verständnis der buddhistischen Religion, wie sie nur ein Gelehrter vom Range Lamottes formulieren konnte.

Eine knappe, genaue und doch überaus inhaltsreiche Übersicht über den indischen Buddhismus und seine Geschichte schrieb Étienne Lamotte einige Jahre später für das Secretariatus pro non Christianis (*A la rencontre du bouddhisme*, I, Rom 1970). Auch seine

letzte Abhandlung bietet eine solche zusammenfassende Darstellung, ebenfalls in dem für seine Arbeiten charakteristischen präzisen und gleichzeitig souveränen Stil formuliert. Étienne Lamotte hat es auf meine Bitte hin noch übernommen, für den Band *The World of Buddhism* (London 1984) die Abschnitte über den frühen Buddhismus und über das Mahāyāna beizutragen, obwohl er damals bereits schwer erkrankt war. Die zunächst entstandene ausführliche Fassung des Beitrags erschien unter dem Titel *Le bouddhisme de Śākyamuni* in den Nachrichten der Göttinger Akademie (1983, Nr. 4), eine kürzere Version in dem genannten Buch. Er hat das Erscheinen dieser Arbeiten nicht mehr erlebt.

Nur selten hat sich Étienne Lamotte in seinen Schriften unmittelbar oder mittelbar zu aktuellen Ereignissen geäußert. Eine bemerkenswerte Ausnahme ist sein Akademievortrag *Le suicide religieux dans le bouddhisme ancien* (1965), der durch die damals bekannt gewordenen Selbstmorde buddhistischer Mönche und Nonnen in Vietnam veranlaßt war und in dem die geistigen Grundlagen dieser Selbstopferungen aufgezeigt werden.

Immer wieder kreisten seine Gedanken um die zentrale Vorstellung des frühen Mahāyāna, jener Form des Buddhismus, in deren Tiefen er wie kein anderer eingedrungen ist: die Konzeption von der "Leere" (*śūnyatā*), in der sich alle Gegensätze auflösen. Dieses Thema zieht sich durch die meisten seiner Schriften, und, wenn er mit Freunden sprach, so ließ er es auch im Gespräch anklingen. Zu den vielen Fragen, die sich für ihn dabei ergaben, gehören besonders die Zusammenhänge des Begriffs der "Leere" im Mahāyāna mit der Begriffswelt der frühen kanonischen Texte. Sie ist z.B. in dem Beitrag *Trois Sūtra du Samyukta sur la vacuité* (Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 36, 1973, S. 313-323) behandelt, einer beispielhaften gründlichen philologischen und philosophischen Untersuchung. In knapper Form hat er am 7. Februar 1977 in seinem letzten Vortrag vor der königlich belgischen Akademie über sein Verständnis der Śūnyatā gesprochen (*Le concept de vacuité dans le bouddhisme*, Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres 1977, S. 66-78).

Die große wissenschaftliche Bibliothek von Étienne Lamotte ist nach den Bestimmungen seines Testaments an das Institut du Hōbōgirin in Kyoto übergegangen, in dem das von Paul Demiéville

begründete enzyklopädische Wörterbuch des Buddhismus nach den sino-japanischen Quellen erarbeitet wird. Diesem von der École Française d'Extrême-Orient getragenen großen Unternehmen hat sich Étienne Lamotte seit seinen Studienjahren in Paris eng verbunden gefühlt.

Lamottes bedeutendstes Vermächtnis bleiben seine Schriften, die uns eine schier unüberblickbare Fülle von Wissen und Einsichten in das Wesen der buddhistischen Religion vermitteln. In seinem persönlichen Leben trat er ganz hinter seinem Werk zurück. Étienne Lamotte war ein überaus bescheidener, liebenswürdiger und großzügiger Mensch, der den Geist der beiden großen Religionen, denen er durch Beruf und Neigung verbunden war, auch in seinem eigenen Verhalten verwirklicht hat.

Nachtrag zur Bibliographie

Die Veröffentlichungen von Étienne Lamotte bis zum Jahre 1977 — zehn Buchtitel (in insgesamt 15 Bänden), 54 Beiträge in wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften und Sammelwerken und 28 Rezensionen — sind verzeichnet in “Indianisme et bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte”, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980, S. VIII-XVI. Nach diesem Zeitpunkt erschienen noch folgende Arbeiten:

55. “Conditioned Co-production and Supreme Enlightenment”, *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, London 1980, S. 118-132.
56. “The Gāravasutta of the Samyuttanikāya and its Mahāyānist Developments”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 20 (1981), S. 127-144.
57. “Lotus et Buddha supramondain”, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 69 (1981), S. 31-44.
58. “Le bouddhisme de Śākyamuni”, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1983, S. 83-120 (Nr. 4).
59. “The Assessment of Textual Authenticity in Buddhism”, *Buddhist Studies Review* 1 (1983-84), S. 5-13. [“La critique d'authenticité dans le bouddhisme”, Titel Nr. 8; übersetzt von Sara Boin-Webb].
60. “The Buddha, His Teachings and His Sangha”, *The World of Buddhism. Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Society and Culture*, ed. by H. Bechert and R. Gombrich, London 1984, S. 41-58 (Deutsche Übersetzung von A. Peters: *Die Welt des Buddhismus*, München 1984, S. 41-58).
61. “Mahāyāna Buddhism”, *The World of Buddhism*, S. 90-93. (Deutsche Übersetzung von A. Peters: *Die Welt des Buddhismus*, S. 90-93).

Schließlich ist 1981 noch eine norwegische Übersetzung des ersten Bandes von *A la rencontre du bouddhisme* (Rom 1970) erschienen: *Buddhas vei*, oversatt av Per Kvaerne, Solum Forlag 1981.¹

Göttingen

HEINZ BECHERT

¹ Für wertvolle Informationen und Hinweise möchte ich Herrn Dr. Hubert Durt, Institut du Höbōgirin, Kyōto, herzlich danken.

STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF A WORLD PICTURE

BERNHARD KÖLVER

Rituals have always held a recognized place in the practice of Indian Religions, being as it were the manifest and tangible aspect of faith. The early stages of Indian tradition are perhaps unusual in that they afford a precise insight into the body of thought which went into its making, and in that they show rituals to be markedly rational in their claims, methods, and, perhaps, aims. Rituals are thought to work by virtue of embodying Truth, symbolizing or reproducing the structure of the world, in whole or in part. This grounding probably never was a matter of common knowledge. But it provided a satisfactory explanation for the efficacy of ritual acts. And if texts keep saying *The Gods love what is hidden*, then this is always to be read on the understanding that creation is not in principle beyond human comprehension. All this is implied in Oldenberg's felicitous phrase of *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*.

What at some point of time appears to have been a faithful representation of the current state of an intellectual apprehension of the World subsequently came under the influence of a tendency that defeats the original purpose, if not of Ritual in the abstract, then at least of rituals and the mechanisms their effects depend upon, such as the early rationalists had conceived them to be. It seems to be in the very nature of ritual that forms, once chosen, tend to acquire hieratic rigidity. What used to mirror knowledge grew outdated, and was potentially divorced from developments in speculation or natural philosophy. A gap thus begins to make its appearance, and the longer the time elapsing, and the more strictly ritual adheres to established form, the wider the gap will be, until what in its beginnings—at least to the lettered—was an intellectually satisfactory solution turns into a matter of formalities or belief, hallowed by tradition; shrouded, perhaps, in mystery; ornamental in character.

This has by no means arrested ritual development: Protestant ideas are a long way off. In particular, there were certain patterns

that kindled religious imagination over longish periods, and it is one of them the developments of which we mean to re-trace. This is the ideas associated with the Directions of the Compass and their relations to the centre.

In its way, this is a simple and obvious image, being based upon observable fact. It still enjoys great popularity with Hindus and Buddhists alike, and we can see how step by step it extends into fields of thought increasingly remote from the initial concept. What at its inception was a model to organize and comprehend spatial relations turns into a general mode to structure experience.

To give an example I hope to develop upon another occasion. Of old, Hindu literary theory had taught there were eight kinds of emotional responses (*rasas*) a play evoked in its public: inclinations towards love, fear, disgust, etc. At some time, Kashmirian thinkers added a ninth item to this list, Acquiescence, *sānta-*. (This is not Aristotle's *katharsis*.) They claimed this last disposition a play can evoke in the spectator's mind was related to Release, *mokṣa-*, the last and highest among the goals of a Hindu's life, and had hence to be regarded as Chief among the emotional responses. This they did in spite of difficulties by no means inconsiderable: How, objectors asked, can a play be said to evoke acquiescence? its very point is to stir the mind to some more definite emotion—like love, or fear, or disgust. Furthermore: where in literature do we actually find a play or book that would induce acquiescence?—Part of the answer (and I have to confine myself to the briefest of summaries) is quite remarkable in its way, shifting the argument to another plane. What, did the innovators reply, is the intelligent reader's response to History, to the Mahābhārata, the Rājatarāṅginī, those tales of incessant strife, of fear and hatred and loyalty and love? can it be anything but insight into life's futility, renunciation, in fact *Acquiescence*, motivated by the goal to obtain Release?

The several emotions induced by the multitudinous episodes of history are, then, resolved into what the Kashmirians had come to regard as the chief among them—which mirrors the directional pattern, with the eight directions emanating from the centre, the point where their special characteristics are implied and latent, but not manifest yet. For this is how India had come to understand and interpret the directions and their relation to the centre: the Eight

Bhairavas, or the Eight Mothers (below, pp. 142) located in the directions of the compass all point back to the central and less tangible deity who, though in himself difficult of access, deigns to manifest himself, in separate and distinct forms, at the periphery. I do think, then, this was the model which led to the ninth *rasa* being evolved: The spatial pattern had achieved a universal significance rooted in religion, and hence could be transferred to the realm of psychological description. And if I have spoken of 'religion', one should perhaps remember the word is used from a Western background. What is intended and effected would be better described in terms closer to Oldenberg's, as long as 'pre-scientific' is divested of its derogatory connotations and understood to mean 'insufficiently verified or verifiable'.

In their results and methods, concatenations of the kind to be presently demonstrated owe a great deal to the early stages of Indian thought. Brāhmaṇa texts, too, aim at joining facts together; their criteria for ordering, while often plausible and clear, yet at times seem arbitrary or obscure. A multitude of observations and interpretations begins to be organized, and this process culminates in the emergence of philosophical systems. Applications of the directional pattern follow similar techniques—but they are different in one essential respect: with them, it is the pattern which is foreordained; the Eight stand, not only at the end of the argument, but also at its beginning.

If this is true, it means there was a pattern in common use for organizing thoughts or concepts which is vastly different from those of logic and yet was applied to learned and abstract contexts. The chief purpose of the following pages is to give an extended example for this kind of linking. For obviously one might think the above attempt at 'explaining' the emergence of the ninth *rasa* far-fetched. Now, a late mediaeval Sanskrit text from Nepal contains a veritable chain of uses of this pattern. There are the Directions pure and simple; there are various applications; and these we shall see develop to stages increasingly remote from the initial concept, up to a point where to our ways of arguing the model is no longer apposite, and indeed landed the author(s) in what ought to have been dogmatic and descriptive difficulties. If—and this is the supposition fundamental to the following pages—this model was nonetheless

adhered to, and indeed elaborated into what might be called a World Picture in the old and comprehensive sense of the term, and if this was done even at the cost of putting up with doctrinal insufficiencies, then there must have been people who set great store by the original image.

This we shall see used at a level where it tallies with fundamental assumptions, and thus may be taken to reflect the mainstream of religious thought. At the other extreme, we shall see the same pattern serve as the nucleus and organizing principle of what appears an arbitrary concatenation of ideas not easily related to any particular creed or philosophical system, and of modest intellectual pretensions. Third, there are stages which one could take as marking the transition between both extremes.

It might be thought tempting to arrange these stages into a historical sequence, in order to demonstrate developments in the interpretation of a particular symbolic action. Yet it is well to remember the different stages it may be useful to distinguish are all attested in, and described from, *the same text*: and it is precisely the operation of the principle on various levels which constitutes a challenge to our understanding.

The bulk of the present essay deals with heterogeneous matters and concepts, which have to be pursued at some detail in order to establish the context of a given conceptual chain. The reader may feel wearied by the lack of cogency about the argument: but this is the source speaking; and the very diversity of topics that could be wedded to the directional pattern is, in a sense, our subject.

The Nepalese sanctuary called Svayambhūnāth no doubt is the most impressive Buddhist site in the Kathmandu Valley. Its core is formed by a *stūpa* of monumental dimensions, topping a hill and thus overlooking much of the valley, and flanked by innumerable shrines to various Buddhist and Hindu deities. The mountain is very much of a centre in the life of Buddhists not only Newar, and must have been so for quite some time: in the 13th century, its reputation extended into the kingdoms of the Far West of Nepal.¹

An eminent Buddhist monument in Hindu surroundings, not fossilized but still very much part of the everyday life of its environment, is rare indeed, and the sanctuary richly rewards the observer.

Yet it was only a few years ago that a devout Buddhist, the indefatigable Shrī Hemrāj Śākyā, undertook and published a first comprehensive survey of the most eloquent witness to the culture of his community.²

Of course there is a collection of legends extolling its virtues. It usually goes by the name Svayambhū-*Purāṇa*. Manuscripts exist in considerable profusion, and in a number of different recensions.³ A Sanskrit text was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* between 1894 and 1900.⁴ Though easily accessible, this book has not received much scholarly attention. This is hardly surprising. The first 120-odd pages are enough to put off any reader. Obviously, the printed version was compiled from a number of sources, and none too carefully; the thread of the tale is constantly in danger of getting lost; and what is printed is so full of insufficiencies and elementary mistakes and misreadings that at times one wonders whether the learned editor—who, after all, was well versed in the various scripts of Nepal—ever read it at all.⁵

In spite of its insufficiencies (which do not affect the present argument) it is this book which will serve as the basis of the present essay. For it is the only text I have seen so far which shows those variations of a single symbolic concept that one might usefully distinguish. If compiled from a multitude of sources, a picture like to the one here drawn would be open to one fundamental objection, viz., that the conjunction of facts existed only in the eyes of the beholder; and this objection would be hard to disprove *prima facie*, especially since the latter stages stand in such a remarkable contrast to the sophistication and consistency of Indian systems of religion and philosophy. The *Purāṇa* allows us to argue from the compass of a single book. No doubt this book is a compilation: the very extracts we shall have to examine show discrepancies that are not easily reconciled. Yet these discrepancies were assembled under one and the same general heading and title, the concepts joined by indigenous Buddhist authors: if they lack plausibility at times, this is a problem of the source rather than of the descriptive framework.

I

*The Points of the Compass:
An Image and its Implications*

The chain of ideas we shall be occupied with has a beginning conventional enough. This is *Lists of Holy Sites*. The Purāṇa deals with two types of them: fords (*tīrthas*) and seats of deities (*pīṭhas*). Visiting them brings not religious merit only: we shall see lists of ‘fruits’ which show wordly gain is by no means outside their scope.⁶ Of the two terms, *tīrtha-*, i.e. ‘ford’, which in common parlance can denote any holy place, is usually employed in its more narrow sense: the fords the Purāṇa speaks of are in most cases located at the confluence of rivers. *pīṭha-*, on the other hand, bears the usual wider sense of ‘shrine’. This is apparently an extension of an older and more specialized meaning; the word used to denote ‘seat’ or ‘pedestal’—the place, that is, the divine image was placed upon or the deity invoked to. This ties in well enough with those types of Tantrik worship that begin with the invocation of the deity and end with his or her dismissal. It would fit in, too, with the Newar practice of housing the orthodox image of a deity in a building of its own (a *devālaya-* or *dyahchēm*, i.e. ‘house of the god’) and taking it out to the seat, the *pīṭh*, only upon special festive occasions.

This orthodox interpretation, though, runs counter to general practice. For the year round, it is at the *pīṭh* where the deity is generally worshipped by the great mass of the population. From general behaviour, nobody would guess that what goes by the name of ‘seat’ should lack the most essential feature of a shrine, viz., the presence of the godhead. There is a dichotomy, then, between its standing in the eyes of the orthodox, and the status it actually enjoys.

The questions that now automatically raise their heads are strengthened once one takes a closer look at *pīṭhs*. They bear little resemblance to pedestals of metal-cast images. Crowned by a *torana*, they are built around what doubtless are manifestations of deities. In the vast majority of cases, these are aniconic: unhewn stones, sometimes oddly shaped, are very common. It is these that worship is normally addressed to, and only during festivals they will be quite literally superseded by the orthodox figure from the

dyāhchein, the house of god. Possibly, this twofold sanctuary, ‘seat’ and ‘house of God’, is the result of pre-Hindu deities being incorporated into the Hindu pantheon. Orthodoxy was satisfied in introducing an image that conformed to iconographical canons, and incidentally demoted the original deity to the status of his/her ‘seat’, potential or preferred. It is worth noting that it is only minor gods of the pantheon who are assigned a *pīth*: in Nepal, I know of none holy to one of the three great gods of Hinduism. On the interpretation suggested, this would be easily understood: in the process of Hinduization, local divinities were identified, not with the major gods, but with figures of their *entourage*, or with secondary deities.

Such sacred sites are often grouped together to form systems. A very frequent pattern is the circle (*mandala-* or *cakra-*). Nowadays, this usually consists of eight members, ideally distributed over the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass (examples are quoted below, pp. 147 ff.). Another common, and possibly earlier, form is confined to the cardinal directions. The Tathāgatas (Dhyānibuddhas) surrounding a *stūpa* (Akṣobhya E, Ratnasambhava S, Amitābha W, Amoghasiddhi N) are an example very well known.

Readings of the Pattern

If we have just spoken of the Four and Eight, we have omitted what in a sense is the most important position of all, and the clue to the entire pattern. This is the *centre* from which they derive their meaning and significance.

(1) Early stages of this image can still be observed. The dome of a *stūpa* is often crowned by a turret, its ground plan a square, the four sides facing the cardinal directions, each side sometimes painted with a stylized face in visual expression of the fact that the Buddha’s teachings are addressed to the whole world (just as it is addressed to everybody: when speaking of people, texts occasionally describe them by listing the Four Castes plus those ‘of other births (*jāti*-), born here and born elsewhere).⁷ In this sense, the Four (or Eight) Directions, when fully enumerated, are a cypher for ‘everywhere’. This is most clearly expressed by that very common form of adoration, the circumambulation, which for its effect depends upon the circle being closed, i.e. the directions being traversed completely.

Proof of the universal validity claimed for the pattern would seem to come from zenith and nadir being occasionally added to the horizontal directions: the vertical axis underlines the same idea by adding the Upper and Nether Worlds.

(2) This, then, is the pattern when focussing upon the centre. The same model, though, can be used to emphasize *distinctions*. For different divinities can be assigned to the separate directions of the compass. Among them, the Guardians of the Quarters (*dikpālas*, *lokapālas*) probably are the best known. They include some of the great gods of Vedic religion: Indra, Agni, Varuṇa. This is sometimes regarded as a ‘loss of status’, what used to be universal gods dwindling to the role of mere protectors of this region or that. The shift might be considered from the opposite angle, as testifying to the extraordinary importance that came to be attached to the directional pattern—a pattern which incidentally offered a satisfactory solution to the vexing question of the hierarchical order prevailing between them.

This arrangement proved most attractive, sufficiently so to serve as a model for other groups of divinities that originally followed different structural principles. The Mothers (*Mātṛkās*) used to be seven goddesses, arranged in a linear sequence. Before our eyes, they are converted into the spatial arrangement (: which necessitated a group of eight; this is how Mahālakṣmī came to be added to their number).

In this form, the pattern came to be applied to another purpose, viz., territorial delimitation. A house, temple, town, or country is placed under the guardianship of a group of deities who are distributed over the Four or Eight Quarters; they surround the territory thus protected; they are worshipped by the usual means, including circumambulation; and this circumambulation serves to set off the lands so protected from their surroundings. This application is, as it were, the structural opposite of the first: The eyes on the *stūpa* assert a universal claim; the gods who surround a territory mark a boundary.

(3) And finally, there is a third interpretation which as it were unites the two that preceded, and which proved particularly suitable to a prominent current in Hindu and Buddhist thought. This is the gods of the *directions being referred to the Centre*, and being

taken as manifestations of a Central Deity. The Four Tathāgatas surrounding the *stūpa* all emanate from the Primeval Buddha principle, the Ādibuddha, conceived in their midst; the Eight Bhairavas manifest various aspects of Śiva. One sense the icon means to express is this: In its entire truth, the Ultimate Principle, the highest God, is not easily grasped, and cannot be represented in its totality. What is accessible and can be pictured is partial manifestations, emanations—and these will be distinct from each other; they reflect and respond to man's partial understanding of the godhead, and the differences of interpretation that prevail among men.

This idea remarkable in its maturity and potential of tolerance (and I use the word advisedly, *pace* Hacker) often availed itself of the spatial symbol; it overrode (but never quite displaced) the Guardians of the Quarters. Thus, we find systems of shrines or statues or struts: Eight Bhairavas, or Mothers, or even Gaṇeśas,⁸ who ideally occupy the eight regions of the compass. These configurations can again be used to ward off a territory: the ideal line connecting the deities forms a ritual boundary which sets the enclosed 'field' (*kṣetra*-) off from the unprotected world outside.

There was one great advantage the spatial representation offered over the conceptual one. It allowed for circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*-)—i.e. a ritual performance that could be taken to express an additional and very essential religious notion. By closing the ring, man has worshipped all the various emanations of the godhead; in doing so, he has as it were incidentally worshipped the one ineffable centre where oppositions and distinctions are resolved. This is, then, an indirect approach to a deity or principle otherwise well-nigh inaccessible.

Each shrine in such conjunctions is part of a system, and has to be understood by reference to the centre. And the centre itself remains vacant: no attributes, no qualities, no shrine (or if there is one, as in the Barabudur, it is empty): a clear image for the inexpressible comprehensiveness of the Absolute.

(4) In the course of time, this fundamental thought seems to have become obscured: the implied reference to the centre was lost from sight; the central divinity begins to appear in the flesh. To return to the Buddhist example: the middle Tathāgata receives a name, Vairocana; he assumes an individuality (: there are iconographical

instructions as to his appearance); and since in a *stūpa* the ideal middle is inaccessible, hid in its hemisphere of stone, his effigy is moved outside, to the periphery, being placed next to Akṣobhya. Doubtless this might be called a distortion of the pattern: the centre should not be named; its deity should not become manifest, nor ought he leave his proper place. Yet these modifications will have contributed greatly to the popularity of the arrangement. For now it could be used by all those who meant to further a particular cult of their own: it could turn ‘sectarian’. Adaptations of local deities could be placed into the centre, tutelary divinities of clans, favourite gods (*iṣṭadevatās*) of individuals; there even is an instance of the centre being occupied by a group of three.⁹

(5) This method to visualize and experience relations must at times have proved most appealing: there are instances where, by way of a transfer, it is applied to chains of concepts that in themselves had no connection whatever to space or pilgrimage.

The Vajrācāryas, e.g., know of a kind of pilgrimage where 24 shrines have to be visited in a fixed succession.¹⁰ These are organized into three sets of eight, and each set is arranged in accordance with the cardinal and intermediate directions, so that the whole performance consists of three circumambulations with narrowing diameters. The 24 shrines, now, stand for the 24 ultimate components (*tattvas*) of Sāṃkhya philosophy, as transposed into a Tantrik context, and the three circles are said to symbolize the Three Bodies of the Buddha (*trikāya-*), i.e. for the circles of Thought (*citta-*), Speech/Word (*vāk-*), and Body (*kāya-*).

It is a metaphysical truth which this series of circumambulations tries to transpose into spatial relations. From a doctrinal point of view, the adaptation is not really satisfactory: nobody will think it particularly illuminating to see the ultimate components of Sāṃkhya subdivided into groups of eight. This is an instance, then, of the pattern growing beyond its proper sphere, and of such transfers the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa offers many cases.

(6) Possibly by analogical extension, other natural processes could be used as a means for structuring experience. The text we shall presently concern ourselves with has a list of twelve holy sites which is organized round a temporal pattern, with the months of the year its guiding criterion (pp. 147 ff. below). And if we have

taken the spatial metaphor to stand for ‘everywhere’, we could correspondingly be inclined to say the lists of months stands for ‘at all times’: we shall see the text itself comes as close to explicitly saying so as one can expect in a Hindu or Buddhist book (p. 144 below).

The image, then, is spreading: beyond its innate meaning, in the case of the *tattvas*; beyond its sole formal property, the circle of eight, in the case of the temporal sequence. And we shall mention ten syllables of a sacred formula being brought into its scope; we shall see things go much farther than that: the pattern is able to absorb a great many phenomena, or chains of them. Heterogeneous in their origin, multiple in their contents, they are yoked or forced together until what emerges is a well-nigh comprehensive account of the world and its elements spiritual and temporal. What at its inception was a spatial system develops into a universal principle for organizing religious truth—and one scarcely needs to add that to the Hindu mind, the totality of existence came or could come under the purview of religion. It is in this sense that we shall be dealing with the emergence of a world picture.

II

Stages in the Evolution of a World Picture

The published Sanskrit text of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, which is the source of the following examples, has preserved a number of stages that permit us to re-trace the gradual emergence of a comprehensive theory of the world organized on the spatial pattern. These will now be dealt with. The following sequence does not claim to set forth a historical development; the typological distinctions, however, seem useful and warranted by the text.

1. We begin with the geographical pattern of eight directions familiar from the Guardians of the Quarters. The Purāṇa contains Buddhist versions, though they look paler than their Hindu correspondences. In a short description of the *caitya* and its endowment, the Tathāgatas of p. 137 are accompanied by female deities who are assigned the intermediate quarters:¹¹ Rocanādevī NE, Māmakī SE, Pāṇḍalā SW, and Tārā NW. The analogy to Hindu groupings is less than absolute: the eight are part male, part female. It looks as if the Buddhist pattern had become established when the four cardinal directions had been thought sufficient to circumscribe the compass; when intermediate directions came to be added, a

change could be most easily effected by including the female counterparts of the Tathāgatas, viz., the Prajñās.¹²

The geographical arrangement of eight reappears in a list of *caityas*, to be mentioned below (p. 156). These, however, hold a decidedly subsidiary position, being mentioned somewhere among the attributes of certain *tīrthas*, in the most extended list there is. Possibly, they are part of the attempt to give a stronger Buddhist touch to an idea which is most familiar from Hindu surroundings. For it is the Eight Mothers, a Hindu configuration, which forms the core and point of reference of the most comprehensive of *tīrtha* lists.¹³ This is arranged in three circles of eight each, which go by the name of Eight Seats (*aṣṭapūṭha-*). The first of these ‘cycles’ (*cakra-*) is described at great length, while the second and third give hardly more than a bare enumeration of place names.¹⁴

Interestingly enough, all three of them show one and the same deviation from the Hindu pattern. The goddesses are enumerated in what is the regular Hindu sequence. The Buddhist versions assign the deities to different quarters, viz.:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------|-------------|
| 1) E | Brahmāyaṇī (= Hindu) | 5) S | Vārāhī | (Hindu: W) |
| 2) N | Maheśvarī (Hindu: SE) | 6) W | Indrāyaṇī | (Hindu: NW) |
| 3) SE | Kaumārī (Hindu: S) | 7) NW | Cāmuṇḍā | (Hindu: N) |
| 4) SW | Vaiśnavī (= Hindu) | 8) NE | Mahālakṣmī | (= Hindu) |

The same ‘irregular’ sequence is found in the *pīṭhapūjā* of the Kathmandu Vajrācāryas.¹⁵

This arrangement is a puzzle which I am not able to solve. One notes the procession both starts and ends at what to Hindus would be the conventional point. The way that connects them, though, can in no sense be called a circumambulation, in the proper sense. An error seems out of the question: the deviation is too frequent for that, and the *pradakṣīna* itself is a means of worship constantly recommended in the Purāṇa. Perhaps it is an intentionally obscured way to refer to the *māṇḍala-* of a deity who is thus—in secret, as it were—represented as the central deity of the sequence.

There are three circles, then, that surround the Svayaṁbhū: the text itself says so¹⁶ This scheme of three roughly parallel sets of shrines, of widening circumference, has an exact Hindu parallel, recorded in a chronicle written in Nepālī.¹⁷ When weighing the question of priorities, one will of course give its due weight to the fact that the deities are Hindu in either case. Indeed, the Buddhist sanctuary is a convincing centre for Mātṛkās or Yoginīs only on the background of the idea that all manifestations are ultimately derived from the centre (*supra*, p. 137). Of course, one cannot con-

clusively prove this was still current when the lists were translated to the Svayambhūnāth. To be sure, the mountain is called the Primaeval Buddha (*ādibuddha-* *svayambhū-* p. 118): but this may be a fossilized term, and Vairocana's image next to Akṣobhya's warns us against automatically transferring the old and learned interpretation; the name *ādibuddha-* may be nothing but a prestigious remnant.

Though the most frequent, the directions are by no means the only pattern for organizing divinities or holy places. The fifth chapter of the Purāṇa, e.g., begins with a list of Twelve *Tīrthas* situated at confluences of rivers. The reader does not have to wait long for an explanation of the number chosen; but at present the point is that the world of gods and men can be structured on models other than that of the directions. The Sādhanamālā, e.g., contains an account of Ten Manifestations of the goddess Tārā which are evolved from the ten syllables of her *mantra-*: *om tāra tuttāre ture svāhā*.¹⁸ This very example, though, shows the attractions of the spatial arrangement: the ten subsidiary Tārās, evolved from the syllables, are placed in the eight directions plus zenith and nadir.¹⁹

2. The reason that underlies a series of *tīrthas* comprising twelve items is immediately apparent. The pilgrimages are particularly auspicious when undertaken on certain days. The facts are these:

Table I. A Pilgrimage arranged by Months

DESTINATION	MONTH	DATE OF THE PILGRIMAGE		
		<i>tīhi</i> ^A	SOLAR DAY	<i>sāṃkrānti</i>
1. Anāliṅga-tīrtha	caitra	1	Sunday	Aries
2. Manasira-tīrtha	vaiśākha	2	Monday	Taurus
3. Godāvarī	jyeṣṭha	3	Wednesday	Gemini
4. Nadikvatha	āṣāḍha	5	Thursday	Cancer
5. Mata-tīrtha	śrāvaṇa	6	Friday	Leo
6. Macchamukha-tīrtha	bhadra	7	Saturday	Virgo
7.		(missing in list)		
8. Hnuti-tīrtha ²⁰	kārttika	10	Friday	Scorpio
9. Navalīṅga-tīrtha	mārga	11	Thursday	Sagittarius
10. Kākeśvara-tīrtha	pauṣa	12	Wednesday	Capricorn
11. Capa-tīrtha	māgha	13	Monday	Aquarius
12. Vāgeśvara-tīrtha	phalguṇa	new moon	Sunday	Pisces

A: All days are those of the waning half of the moon (*kṛṣṇapakṣa-*)

It is the regular sequence of the twelve months which governs this series and determines its number, and the other data are adapted to this pattern with greater or less felicity. Two weeks make 14 days: they are reduced to twelve, the required number, by omitting Tuesday, which is inauspicious for most kinds of work. So are the fourth, ninth, and fourteenth lunar day (*tithi*) of each half month.²¹

With its months, lunar and solar days, signs of the zodiac and the days the sun enters them, the list suggests a cycle, i.e. a definite period for completing the whole tour. This, however, cannot be easily established. I am ignorant of Indian astronomy and consulted two Kathmandu scholars, Mr Dines Raj Pant and Mr Śākarmān Rājvaraṇsi, both historians well versed in *jyautisa*. Independently of each other, both agreed in saying calculations meant to establish the cycle would in all likelihood prove most intricate; even their dimensions could be gauged only after considerable effort, and none of the customary cycles seemed to be intended.

The calculations, then, which the list seems to call for have not been carried out. As matters stand, two remarks could be added, both of them necessarily tentative.

(1) Perhaps the dates were assembled by juxtaposition of three sets of chronological concepts, each being given in proper sequence; in their combination, they circumscribe the conceptual field of time.

(2) If the period for the completion and repetition of the cycle really extends to almost immeasurable lengths of time, then this would as it were further the author's presumable intentions: it is not any definite period which he aims at, but Time as such. As our next point we shall have to consider a list which links four holy sites to the Four mythical Ages of the World (the *yugas*)—which according to a common Hindu reckoning cover a span of 4.320.000 years. It may well be a similar idea which underlies the present conjunction of temporal notions.

It is worth noting the author really meant the three sets of determinants to be viewed together: it is when lunar day, solar day, and *samkrānti* all fall upon the same day that the pilgrimage will yield the highest reward (*uttamaphala-*); if two conditions are fulfilled, the reward will be middling (*madhyama°*), if one only, it will be

very small (*svalpa*^o).²² It is, then, the comprehensive cycle that he aims at. The next list to be examined will corroborate this conclusion.

3. In a third stage, lists are expanded by items that in themselves are not related either to space or to time.

On pp. 286-290, the Purāṇa lists a cave and three lakes to be worshipped in turn. The cave houses a female snake, wife of Ananta; the lakes, too, are inhabited by a divine being. The bare facts are assembled in the following table.

Table II. A Pilgrimage arranged by World Periods, with its Rewards.

DESTINATION	DEITY	DATE OF THE PILGRIMAGE		
		MONTH	<i>tithi</i>	
1. Sahasradari Cave	Sundarī (wife of Nāga)	<i>nabha</i>	<i>kṛṣṇa</i>	13
2. Agastya Lake	Agastya	<i>kārttika</i>	<i>śukla</i>	9
3. Ananta Lake	Ananta	<i>māgha</i>	<i>śukla</i>	full moon
4. Tārā Lake	Tārā	<i>vaiśākha</i>	<i>śukla</i>	13

SOLAR DAY	<i>samkrānti</i>	DATE OF PILGRIMAGE		REWARDS OF RITUAL BATHING
		WORLD PERIOD		
1. Thursday	Leo	Kaliyuga	Whatever is desired	
2. Wednesday	Scorpio	Satyayuga	<i>dharma</i>	
3. Sunday	Aquarius	Tretāyuga	<i>artha</i>	
4. Monday	Taurus	Dvāparayuga	<i>kāma</i>	

Except for two additions, the arrangement rather closely follows the model of the preceding example. The year is subdivided, not into months, but into quarters, which hardly affects the principle.

The first extension refers to time. The pilgrimage is related to the four Ages of the World, which in their entirety comprise a whole world period (a *kalpa*-). By bathing at prescribed times, the pilgrim partakes of the beneficial properties of all four of them. One would speak of Eternal Truths were it not for the fact that creation will repeat itself in other world periods.—Such, then, is the extension of the time axis that we have been speaking about (v. *supra*, p. 140).²³

The second addition consists of new thoughts being fitted into the framework—and it is highly significant to see that what is incorporated is not isolated items, but *a set of concepts that in itself forms an integrated whole*. For *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* are of course the three standard goals of a virtuous Hindu life, the *trivarga-*. After completing the pilgrimage, the text affirms, one has at the same time attained these goals, or at least improved upon the conditions for their attainment.²⁴

Assigning distinct properties to Yugas in itself is not all that rare, and of course preconditioned by their very names. About 200 years ago, a Nepalese poet e.g. wrote, ‘In Kṛtayuga, asceticism/mortification stands highest; in Tretā, knowledge; in Dvāpara, they say it is sacrifice; in Kaliyuga, there is only (giving) gifts.’²⁵ But for the Purāṇa, the point of reference is not really the Age of the World, but the holy site to be endowed with beneficial effects. If these tally with each other, so much the better: the Age of Truth (*satyayuga-*) and Right (*dharma-*) are of course a most satisfactory conjunction. Others, though, are less so: one does not really see why Ananta, the Snake Lord Viṣṇu rests upon, should be joined to Gain (*artha-*). And the same kind of objection could be raised against the succeeding pairings: why should Tārā be credited with bestowing what one desires rather than any of the other rewards? There is a lack of correspondence, then, between the various columns of our list, which can rise to a veritable clash of concepts. This perhaps opens our eyes to what is actually happening.

A promise of a specific ‘fruit’ resulting from pilgrimage to a particular place: this is very much in keeping with tradition. Again: the rewards of the present instance constitute a list of the most unquestionable authority. Their conjunction to the Yugas, though, to deities, and by implication to particular sites, is much less so. What we find is *a juncture of systems which in origin and intention have no connection with each other*. The spatial-temporal pattern as it were attracts other systems and incorporates them. And while adding the *trivarga-* still is a tolerable, though no intellectually brilliant solution, the next stage will offer conjunctions of concepts that seem completely arbitrary.

The Purāṇa contains two more lists of holy sites which are much

more complex than the preceding. We shall have to consider them in some detail. For these lists of places form the backbone to what seems an odd assortment of miscellaneous information: there are prescriptions and injunctions and promises of rewards; there are other subjects added without even a hint being given as to why they should have been joined to a holy place. It will be necessary to document the full disparity; hence the following compilation.

Before giving an abstract of the text, one point has to be noted. Both lists are written in a thoroughly competent manner, and not without art. There is a definite pattern for describing a *tīrtha* each time which is scrupulously adhered to. The compiler heavily drew upon established chains of concepts, and almost invariably he uses them in their traditional sequence. Again, when one and the same concept has to be repeated in the description of several *tīrthas*, he attempts to relieve the monotony by variations in terms, i.e. by using synonyms or words of closely related meaning. In this, he shows a considerable virtuosity. This should be kept in mind when attempting to form an opinion on what the author was trying to do: he was no incompetent bungler, but a man who carefully executed what was a definite plan. After summarizing the text, its descriptions and deliberations, we shall have to try and imagine the goals that compilations of this type were meant to achieve.

Now for an annotated synopsis of the contents of both lists. This does not follow the sequence of the text, which proceeds *tīrtha* by *tīrtha*, but is organized by subjects, i.e. according to the underlying pattern.

4. *The Twelve Tīrthas* (SvP pp. 250-282)

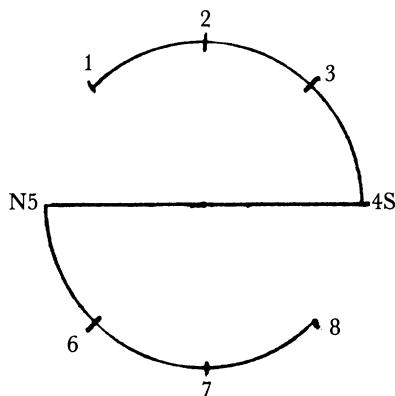
The account is organized with the months of the year and the lunar days (*tithis*) as its governing principle. The places of pilgrimage come fairly close to geographical regularity.

I. *Enumeration of Places*. Directions are not given. The first eight items, though, are repeated in List 2, where they are assigned locations. These have been carried over into the present summary.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Puṇya-tīrtha (NE) | (7) Nidhana° (W) |
| (2) Śānta° (E) | (8) Jñāna° (SW) |
| (3) Saṅkara° (SE) | (9) Cintāmaṇi° |

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| (4) Rājamañjari° (S) | (10) Pramoda° |
| (5) Manoratha° (N) | (11) Sulakṣaṇa° |
| (6) Nirmala° (NW) | (12) Jaya° |

The places have been identified,²⁶ and the topography of the first group of eight is sufficiently close to the idealized directions of the text. Nos. 9-12 are all located on or near the Bagmati River when it has started on its southerly course.



The arrangement of Nos. 1-8 obviously follows a regularity which is different from the 'irregular' sequence noted on p. 142 f., *supra*. The ideal circle is divided into two complementary halves, running clockwise from NE to S and counter-clockwise from N to SW. These two halves are grouped round an axis going from North to South. A departure from the usual *pradakśina* as regular as this is hardly due to chance. I do not know its meaning.

II. Rewards. A list of the 'fruits' of bathing at each *tīrtha*. These are often specific in character, some promising earthly success, others spiritual attainments (e.g. 'goods and grain' for No. 7, 'destruction of enemies, such as hate etc.' for No. 12). Most rewards re-occur in IX, XII, below.

III. Dates. This is the series of dates discussed above, pp. 143 f., from a shorter version. It consists of three components: (1) month and lunar day (*tithi-*); (2) solar day; (3) the day the sun passes into a new sign of the zodiac. A definite periodical cycle is not easily established and may not have been intended.

IV. Sites. The place names repeated. All are located at confluences of rivers.

V. The Lord of the Site. Except for the Nirmalatīrtha (6), each place has a Lord (*iśvara-*, *iśa-*) who is to be worshipped. These deities are not named, possibly because of their Hindu affiliations.

VI. Service at the *tīrtha*: Bathing. With some variation in vocabulary, for which see VII, the next *śloka*- enjoins men and women to service at the *tīrtha*, which is to consist of bathing.

VII. *Concentration of Body, Speech, and Mind* is taught in the next verse, and there is a table of correspondences between unwholesome states of mind, to be given up, and wholesome ones, which are evoked by visiting the holy sites and performing prescribed rites. Their list is as follows:

States of Mind (<i>citta-</i>)	
to be given up	to be evoked
1. evil (<i>pāpa-</i>)	virtue, merit (<i>pūnya-</i>)
2. passion (<i>rāga-</i>)	right (<i>dharma-</i>)
3. hatred (<i>dveṣa-</i>)	true (<i>sat-</i>)
4. delusion (<i>moha-</i>)	enlightenment (<i>bodhi-</i>)
5. pride (<i>mana-</i> ²⁷)	knowledge (<i>jñāna-</i>)
6. jealousy (<i>īryā-</i>)	*virtue, merit (<i>pūnya-</i>)
7. fraud (<i>dambha-</i>)	*right (<i>dharma-</i>)
8. ?deceit, magic (<i>māyā-</i>)	of a sage (<i>muni-</i>)
9. malice (<i>mātsarya-</i> ²⁸)	*enlightenment (<i>bodhi-</i>)
10. fury (<i>kroda-</i>)	*virtue, merit (<i>pūnya-</i>)
11. *envy (<i>matsar-</i>)	*
12. slow, feeble (<i>manda-</i>)	*of a sage (<i>muni-</i>)

Repetitions marked by an asterisk*

(1) One notices neither series runs to twelve items, the number required by the frame; one notices the detrimental states of mind are both more numerous and more specific than those conducive to salvation that they are paired with. This means an individual pair will carry a greater or smaller degree of conviction. No. 2, *passion* giving way to *right* seems true only in a fairly broad sense, and is perhaps not a helpful statement. Occasionally, the, the pairing of concepts shows a certain vagueness: no downright disparity, but a lack of precision.

(2) When speaking of the concentration of body, speech, and mind which is to induce changes in the mind or heart (*citta-*), the author very consciously strives for variation in terms. This should perhaps not be passed over as a mere stylistic device. For the body/speech/mind (*kāya-/vāk-/manas-*) series is in itself a conceptual chain (cf. Mahāvyutpatti, Nos. 1681-3), fixed in its wording, where reformulations seem to testify to a certain latitude. In departing from established terminology, the author aimed at finding words synonymous or nearly so. (The technique is familiar from Sanskrit dictionaries of the Amarakoṣa type.) To give an example. Under the broad heading of 'mind', the author uses *citta-*, *cetas-*, *hṛd-/hṛdaya-/svānta-*: words, that is, each of which has its own specific connotations. To be sure, the context removes any ambiguity that might arise. Yet we see how a wording hallowed by orthodoxy can be resolved into a semantic field.

The result bears a certain similarity to those conceptual chains which are so prominent a feature of Buddhist teaching. In both columns of the list, the words or concepts are organized around some common idea or semantic factor that underlies the diversity of terms. In a sense, the pattern is not dissimilar to the directional one, with its underlying reference to the centre reconciling the Abstract and the Tangible, the idea and its manifestations.

VIII. *Duration of Pilgrimage &c.* Bathing etc. at each *tīrtha* should last for 21 days. The dates for its beginning and its end are given, the latter of course being identical with those of III (*supra*, pp. 143 f.).

Thus purified, the pilgrim is to spend one more week²⁹ in religious observances, now chiefly verbal: he ought to recite various types of Holy Writ, the distinctions between them (*dhāraṇī*- vs. *yānasūtra*- vs. *pāṭha*- vs. *gāthā*- vs. *saddharma*-) probably not reflecting any particular property of the various *tīrthas*: this looks like another case of variation within the same semantic field.

IX. *Fruits of the Pilgrimage* are the next topic, with hardly any variation as against II, *supra*.

X. *Further Instructions*. The gods of the sacred precinct are to be worshipped. Pilgrims should wake at nights and take a bath in the morning. On the evening of the 28th day, the pilgrimage will be completed.—Again, a good deal of variation in words for ‘night’.

XI. *Holy Texts*. At each *tīrtha*, the pilgrim is to have holy texts recited. Titles are again related to specific places—although the name of a book is always followed by ‘etc.’ (° *adi*-). The titles are as follows:

(1) Prajñāpāramitā. — (2) Gaṇḍavyūha. — (3) Daśabhūmiśvara. — (4) Samādhirāja. — (5) Lankāvatāra. — (6) Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. — (7) Tathāgataguhyaka. — (8) Lalitavistara. — (9) Suvarṇaprabhā. — (10) Pañcarakṣā. — (11) Saptavāra. — (12) Karuṇapuṇḍarīka.

- (1) The first nine titles are of course the familiar Nine Jewels (*navaratna*), pretty much in the traditional sequence known since 1828, i.e. since Hodgson’s *Sketch of Buddhism &c.*³⁰ This leaves the author with three more sites to be assigned a text. He chose two very common ones (Nos. 10 and 12). The ‘recitation of the Seven Days etc.’ (*saptavārādiपāṭha*-, p. 278) I could not trace, unless it is the ‘Saptavara Dháraṇí’ which Hodgson mentions as contained in the *Dhāraṇī-samgraha*.³¹
- (2) If there is a special circumstance which would make the first item of this list, rather than any of the others, suitable for recitation at the Punyatīrtha, we hear nothing about it. Presumably, it is just the Nine Jewels being distributed over the *tīrthas*, on the principle of one by one.

XII. *Rewards*. (1) After ritual requirements are again stated in an expanded version, the list of fruits is once more repeated, again with but minor variations from prior occurrences (v. *supra*, II, IX). Two verses are added which in most cases elaborate upon the fruits. At times, though, they are somewhat loosely connected to promised rewards. ‘Long life, health, wealth, and grain’ are to go to him who visits the Cintāmaṇitīrtha (No. 9), which is followed by an enumeration of the Seven Growths—probably because these, too, start off with the ‘growth of life’ (*āyurvṛddhi*-) and also contains a promise of wealth, *dhana*- . These two parallels apparently were thought sufficiently close to warrant the connection, although other Growths are ascribed to other sites.

XII. (2) At each *tīrtha*, one of the Ten Unwholesome Qualities (*akuśalā dharmāḥ*) will be removed. This is a familiar series of sins: killing, stealing, incontinence etc. The list seems to be quite old: s.v. *akusalakammaṭṭha*, Childers quotes an almost identical wording from Pali.³²

Again there is the familiar discrepancy: twelve places, ten Qualities: two more concepts had to be found after the Buddhist list was exhausted. The solution is

none too convincing. As No. 11, we find the Five Great Sins of Hinduism, i.e. those that cannot be expiated. Authors are not quite unanimous in identifying them; a common list is Manu 11.55 killing a brāhmaṇa, drinking liquor, stealing (a brāhmaṇa's gold), adultery with one's teacher's wife, and associating with such (offenders). The point, in our present context, is this: the first two out of these Five are but specialized variants of those that begin the List of Ten: conceptually, there is an undeniable redundancy.—The twelfth *tīrtha* will annihilate the sin of 'causing dissension in the order', *samghabhedā*—which stems from a Buddhist list of offences.³³ The author, then, drew upon another set of injunctions, choosing the one which in Pali goes under the name of *abhijhāna*.³⁴ He noticed crimes against life were sufficiently covered by what had gone before (killing was No. 1 in his *akuśalā dharmāḥ* and had been again included in No. 11), and thus moved on to the next item, Splitting the Order.³⁵

XIII. *Ritual Observances.* This is not a mere summary of what had gone before: apart from bathing and 'joyfully giving to beggars (etc.)', there are to be oblations to deceased ancestors.—Gifts are enumerated, and sometimes specified (rice, clothes, etc.).

XIV. *Concluding Remarks.* At the end of the entry concerning a *tīrtha*, there usually are two verses which again mention the name of the deity, then list those who are to accompany the pilgrim (wife, children, grandchildren; brothers, friends etc.), sometimes refer to the body administering the holy site (*tīrthagoṣṭhi-*), and repeat the reward that accrues from visiting the *tīrtha*, or its outstanding merit.

So much, then, for the first of the longer lists. Its drift will become clearer from the second one, which we shall presently summarize. Three points, however, should be noted even now.

(1) The list is arranged according to directions and months, i.e. it combines the criteria of space and time. It is the latter with its twelve months which is dominant.

(2) The pattern imposed by the months means other topics for the sake of symmetry have to be brought up to twelve items. This is effected in either of two ways. There are more or less random collections: see the States of Mind, *supra*, VII. In other cases, the author takes established lists (the Eight sites (I), the Nine Jewels (XI), the Ten Unwholesome Qualities (XII), and expands them by drawing upon related concepts: this is, as it were, a process of padding out, and the result at times is less than cogent (see XII).

(3) Among the concepts joined to the basic pattern, some have only the vaguest relationship to pilgrimage, or to a particular holy site: it is by a flight of the imagination that the States of the Mind, or the Unwholesome Qualities, are distributed over a certain set of holy places. This is not saying I think the distribution necessarily unreal:

it does tie in, e.g., with the Buddhist tendency to particularize, i.e. to address oneself to a problem by breaking a complex down into its component parts. But of the chains summarized in the preceding, some are fitted into the grid of pilgrimage, space, and time, by a process one cannot but call arbitrary.

5. *The Eight Tīrthas* (SvP pp. 300-313)

Of elaborated lists of holy sites, the Purāṇa contains a second one, similar in plan, more comprehensive in conception, more sketchy in execution. It is markedly Hindu in its overall appearance, with but few traits specifically Buddhist.

Its backbone is the directional arrangement, and its sites are the first eight of the preceding list. This time, however, it is the Eight Mothers who are named as deities of the sites. For the same localities, then, there are *two alternative interpretations* being offered by *the same text*.

The central position of this system is not vacant, but occupied: its deity is a Bhairava (v. *supra*, p. 139). He is described in a way distinctly more schematic than that used for the goddesses—which illustrates what has been said about divergencies attached to the outposts, and their resolution in the central position. Eight kinds of trees, e.g., are distributed the usual way, one kind per *tīrtha* (VIII, below). The central shrine is credited with all of them. And so with Serpents, minor deities, etc. The rigid application of this principle no doubt strikes one as somewhat mechanical. Each Mother, e.g., is assigned a Cremation Ground of her own—and the author duly ascribes all eight of them to the Bhairava: the preconceived pattern—or should we say the mechanics of listing—prevails over the notions, not only of observed, but even of imagined reality.

Another point is worth noting. When glancing through the items to be summarized presently, one finds the author heavily drew upon what must have been standard traditions about Cremation Grounds (*śmaśānas*). These have now grown readily accessible due to the painstaking labours by Richard-Othon Meisezahl,³⁶ who has shown how they, too, can form a set of eight, distributed over the regions; how tradition equipped each of them with a tree, a god, a serpent, a cloud; how some accounts extend this list of attributes to

include dead bodies or parts of them, animals, *caityas*, female deities attending the gods, etc. Obviously, some text of this type was used by the authors of the Purāṇa, though none of those Meisezahl printed appears to have served as its immediate source.

This means lists of Sacred Places, once they were systematically arranged, not only attracted individual concepts or conceptual chains: what we see in the present instance is a *system in itself composite* which is being incorporated into the given framework. For a composite system is what the Śmaśānavidhi texts present, and of a kind much more disciplined and subtle than the haphazard compilation of the Purāṇa: the esoteric interpretations of Cremation Grounds which Meisezahl has reproduced no doubt demand special efforts to be understood: they do show there is a conscious intellectual effort underlying their conjunction of facts. The Purāṇa argues on a humbler level.

The data are summarized as briefly as possible; in particular, I shall refrain from more detailed analysis, though the development of conceptual chains is a topic well worth pursuing.

I Names of Deities, Sites, and Directions

(1) Brahmāyaṇī	Śāntatīrtha	E	(5) Vārāhī	Rāja°	S
(2) Maheśvarī	Manoratha°	N	(6) Indrāyaṇī	Nidhana°	W
(3) Kaumārī	Śāṅkara°	SE	(7) Cāmunda	Nirmala°	NW
(4) Viṣṇuvi ³⁷	Jñāna°	SW	(8) Mahālakṣmī	Puṇya°	NE
			(9) Bhairava, Madhyalagu,	CENTRE	

For the topography, v. *supra*, pp. 142 f.

II. Dates

(1) <i>isa</i>	kr 1	Sunday	(5) <i>phālguna</i>	kr 5	Thursday ³⁸
(2) <i>mārga</i>	kr 2	Monday	(6) <i>caitra</i>	kr 6	Friday
(3) <i>pauṣa</i>	kr 3	Tuesday	(7) <i>rādhā</i>	kr 7	Saturday
(4) <i>māgha</i>	kr 4	Wednesday	(8) <i>jyeṣṭha</i>	kr 8	any day
			(9) any month, half-month, lunar and solar day		

(1) Note the solar days are fitted into the pattern in a way different from that discussed on pp. 143 f.: Tuesday, though inauspicious, is included, and the necessary eighth item is obtained in an unorthodox fashion. I do not think 'any day' suitable for Mahālakṣmī is to mean her appeal is thought more universal than that of the other goddesses (: if this was intended, one should have expected the author to give a hint somewhere); it will be a case of 'padding out', not very skilfully achieved.

(2) The date for the Bhairava, however, I take to bear out what was said about the comprehensive function of the centre: this is where many of the manifestations of the outposts are contracted, in the present list.

III. *Identifying the Goddesses.* Their names are given in I and are not repeated here.—Each of the goddesses is assigned a seed syllable (*bija-*), whence she derives her origin, and these are the following:

(1) <i>a-kāra-</i>	(3) <i>ca-kāra-</i>	(5) <i>ta-kāra-</i>	(7) * <i>ya-kāra</i> ³⁹
(2) <i>ka-kāra-</i>	(4) * <i>ta-kāra</i> ³⁹	(6) <i>pa-kāra-</i>	(8) <i>sa-kāra-</i>
		(9) <i>hum-kāra-</i>	

Each letter of course stands for the entire group, *a* for all vowels, *ka* for all gutturals, etc. The last letter, *ha*, appears as *hum* possibly because of its final position.

From this letter, the text claims, the seed syllable (of the goddess) is derived (*x-kāra-bija-samjāt(a)m*). Bijas constructed according to these instructions, however, do not tally with those customarily employed for the deities named.⁴⁰ I think it is very much an open question whether the author of the present passage really meant to replace traditional syllables by new ones. His motive patently is another: he means to fit *all* letters of the alphabet into his pattern of eight plus one.⁴¹

Subsequently, each goddess is assigned a colour, viz.,

(1) yellow	(3) red	(5) red	(7) red	(9) black.
(2) white	(4) black	(6) yellow	(8) white (like <i>kurikuma-</i>)	

IV. *Fields and their Gods.* Nine fields (*kṣetra-*) there are, eight of them governed by a male deity. These are, in turn:

(1) *Prayāga* (Indra). — (2) *Korāgiri* (v.l. *kolā°*) (*Kubera*). — (3) *Aṭṭāṭhāśa* (*Agni*). — (4) *Jayantī* (*Nairṛtya*). — (5) *Ekāvaka* (*Yama*). — (6) *Vāruṇa* (*Varuṇa*). — (7) *Devikota* (*Vāyu*). — (8) *Caritra(ka)* (*Īśāna*). — (9) *Madhyalaghu* ('surrounded by the Mothers').

Their identification is far from clear.⁴² *Prayāga* should be no problem, unless the text means to refer to Rudraprayāga, between Hardwār and Kedarnāth. For *Kolāgiri*, Coorg (Kodagu) would be very far off; perhaps it is to be sought in the vicinity of Badarīnāth. *Aṭṭāṭhāśa* doubtless stands for *Aṭṭahāśa*, the mistake being occasioned by the name of the cremation ground (VII, below): this is in the Birbhum District of Bengal. *Jayantī* probably is Jyntia, in the Sylhet District of what is now Bangladesh. *Ekāvaka* and *Vāruṇa* I have altogether failed to trace; as to the former, one wonders—and this is guess-work with some slight palaeogeographical justification—whether it could be a mistake for *Ekacakrā* which, after some discussion, was identified as 'Chakarnagar, 16 miles SW of Itawah U.P.'⁴³ There is a *Devikota* south of Jaisalmer, and a *Devikotā* in Bengal;⁴⁴ again, the name can stand for *Sonitapura* in Kumaon.—*Puri* (Orissa) apparently could go by the name of *Caritra*.—Of *Madhyalaghu*, I have again found no trace. Perhaps it is an attempt to Sanskritize the Newari place name **Madhyalāyku*, for in the central position, one would expect a Nepalese site.

Much of this is not really satisfactory. Even so, the intention of the list is quite clear: the sanctity of well-known places of worship from India is being ascribed, and indeed literally transferred, to *pīthas* of the Kathmandu Valley. There is at least one definite analogy to this in Nepal.⁴⁵

(2) The spatial distribution, as indicated by the Guardians of the Quarter, again is out of order, and seeing it is vouched for by the testimonial of the *lokapālas*, I do not think this is a case of intentional departure, but rather, an error of the compiler. For it is at this point that the Purāṇa turns to traditional descriptions of Cremation Grounds.

For obvious reasons, cemeteries were considered suitable objects for ascetic meditation, and within some Buddhist Tantrik schools, they had attained a certain fame. Details are found in Meisezahl,⁴⁶ so that we can confine ourselves to what is relevant for the present discussion. Religious texts had evolved a system of eight cremation grounds, again distributed over the regions of the compass. They are attested both in paintings and in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. Each of them is structured the same way: they all have a tree, a serpent, a part of the body, etc. As always, these individual items are to be seen as parts of a system rather than as describing an imagined reality. Of parts of the body, e.g., the fifth cremation ground is attributed skulls, the sixth, knees: the very skeleton is distributed over the eight regions. This cannot but be a deliberate departure from observable fact—and the idea behind it is to force the mind to realize the eight places are nothing but manifestations, accidental and unsatisfactory particularizations, as it were, of what in truth is an integrated whole.

A text of this type was before the eyes of the compiler of the present list. His version is both more comprehensive than that printed by Meisezahl, and less closely argued. A comparison of texts lies outside the scope of the present essay; the point is that a *composite system* which in itself was built on a model like that illustrated in our preceding section *can be integrated into a larger whole*.

The Guardians of the Quarters, then, mark the point where the Purāṇa turns to the cemeteries. They are followed by

(a) a sequence of Nine Bhairavas and their colours, *viz.*,

(1) *Asitāṅga* (black), (2) *Śukra* (red), (3) *Kroḍha* (green), (4) *Unmattaka* (black), (5) *Kapāla* (yellow, *piṅgala-*), (6) *Ruru* (yellow, *pūta-*), (7) *Samhāra* (red), (8) *Bhiṣana* (yellow, *piṅgala-*). The central one is the 'Bhairava who is Lord of all Gods (*bhairavam sarvadeveśam*).—With the exception of *Śukra* replacing *Canda*, this is the customary Hindu list. Their distribution over the compass, though, follows none of the customary patterns.

Shrines or sculptures of these Bhairavas cannot now be found at the places they are ascribed to, and to my mind it is doubtful whether they ever were materially present. In a sense, I think this was irrelevant in the eyes of the author. He after all is describing a system with a Bhairava in central position—which more or less automatically evokes his Emanations. Again, the Mothers are not rarely found linked to the Bhairavas: another reason for conceiving them. All this of course raises the question of which kind of reality one ought to ascribe to such patterns: it will be pursued upon another occasion.

V. *Trees. Serpents. caityas.* Just like Cremation Grounds, the holy sites each have a tree, a serpent, and a *caitya* of their own.

The *trees* are (1) *nāgakeśara-*, (2) *pumnāga-*, (3) *karañja-*, (4) *parkatī-*, (5) *cūṭa-*, (6) *aśvattha-*, (7) *udumbara-*, (8) *vata-*. The central Bhairava has all of them.—Most of these trees re-occur in the Saṃvarodayatantra (ed. Tsuda, XVII, 38).⁴⁷ The *serpents* are those that open the Mahāvyutpatti list (p. 227),⁴⁸ though in a different sequence: (1) *Mahāpadma*, (2) *Śaṅkhapālaka*, (3) *Padma*, (4) *Ananta*, (5) *Kulika*, (6) *Karkkoṭa*, (7) *Vāsuki*, (8) *Takṣaka*. The ninth Bhairava is attended by all of

them.—Again, the Saṃvarodayatantra is nearly identical: instead of Ananta, it has Huluhulu.⁴⁹

As can be gathered from the plates in Meisezahl, each cemetery is adorned with a *caitya*. The names there given to those of the Leiden Chinnamunḍa-Vajravārāhī Maṇḍala (plate 1, pp. 83 ff.) differ from those employed in the Purāṇa, which has (1) *Viśvavajra*, (2) *Kṛṣṇa*^o, (3) *Rāga*^o, (4) *Saṃskāra*^o (= Leiden), (5) *Citta*^o (= Leiden), (6) *Ratna*^o (= Leiden), (7) *Karṇma*^o, (8) *Sita*^o (= Leiden). The variants from the Purāṇa do not inspire confidence.—An additional *caitya* had to be found for the central Bhairava. The author hit upon the obvious solution: it is the ‘King of *caityas*, the Ven. Svayambhū’.

VI. *Goddesses of Music, Song, and Dance* are added next. These do not seem to occur in cemetery texts. The first four are goddesses of musical instruments ((1) *Vinādevī*, (2) *Vamsā*^o, (3) *Mṛdaṅga*^o, (4) **Muraja*^o), the instruments being listed, e.g., in the Amarakoṣa (Ch. 1.6). They are followed by the Goddesses (5) of Laughter (*Hāsyā*^o), (6) of Song (*Gitā*^o), and of Dance: (7) *Nṛtyā*^o, (8) *Lāsyā*^o. Laughter and dance are coupled in the Mahāvyutpatti (Nos. 7131 f.).—The Niṣpannayogāvalī affords a fairly close parallel.⁵⁰—The central Bhairava is again attended by the whole group.

VII. *The Names of Cremation Grounds* are nearly identical with those of the Saṃvarodayatantra and the Śmaśānavidhi:

(1) *Candogra*.⁵¹ — (2) *Gahvala* (em. °ara). — (3) *Jvālāñikula* (em. °ākula). — (4) *Kalanika* (Saṃvarodayat^o: Karan̄kin; Śmaśānav^o: Vibhīṣaṇa). — (5) *Aṭṭahāsa* (Śmaśānav^o: Aṭṭāṭhāsa). — (6) *Lakṣmīvana*. — (7) *Ghorāndhakāra*. — (8) *Krikalāla* (Saṃvarodayat^o: Kilikilārava; Śmaśānav^o: Kilakilārava). — (9) All of the preceding.⁵²

The idea of joining cremation grounds to Mothers is not all that novel: witness the ‘maṇḍala’ depicting the town of Bhaktapur.⁵³

VIII. *Corpses. Animals*. In keeping with texts on cremation grounds, the Mothers are assigned a corpse each, whole or in part. A fearsome animal is added.

Corpses: (1) skeletons, (2) bodies split by spears, (3) skeletons again, (4) bodies with burnt heads, (5) skulls, (6) knees, (7) (headless) trunks. The last two items I do not understand: (8) *hādañanda*-, (9) *karadhādi*-. The Tantra list, otherwise quite similar, ends in *dādakamunḍa* “(heads showing) tusks and bald heads” (Tsuda, p. 293).

Animals: (1) crows, (2) owls, (3) vultures, (4) jackals, (5) ?small rats or mice (?*muśālikā*), (6) crickets (? *cilicillikā*-), (7) lion-mouthed and (8) tiger-mouthed animals. (9) has *sarvabhayāni*, all the terrible ones.

IX. *The Siddha* who accompanies each of the Mothers again stems from cremation ground tradition. Both the Saṃvarodayatantra and the Śmaśānavidhi refer to their presence only in general terms, without naming them.

The Purāṇa version seems much distorted. Some names one recognizes, or fancies to, in the two long lists printed in Dasmagupta’s *Obscure Religious Cults*.⁵⁴

(1) Kacchapā, (2) Śāvaripā, (3) Virupā, (4) Goralipā, (5) Kacchapā again, (6) Jālamdhariṇī, (7) Rarapatipā (sic!), (8) Gorāpā, (9) all.—Correspondence with the Nepalese Citrakars’ lists of Siddhas⁵⁵ is again very slight.

X. *Rivers*. These do not occur in the descriptions of cremation grounds quoted.—Their names would again seem to invoke the beneficial properties of their originals and transfer them to the places holy to the Mothers: we noted this principle when discussing the Fields (*supra*, IV.).—The waters of each river are ascribed a particular quality.

(1) Gaṅgā (with cool waters), (2) Sindhu (swift, *laghu-*), (3) Vakṣu, possibly a faulty reading (with fragrant waters), (4) Sarasvatī (sweet), (5) Sítā, i.e. the Jaxartes,⁵⁶ whose waters are ?enjoyed (? *bhukta-*), (6) Candrabhágā, i.e. the Chenab (very clear), (7) Varuna (an error for Aruṇa?), with waters oily or resplendent (*snigdha-*), (8) the Hemavatī (?), with white waters. The ninth item is interesting because of a slip of the pen: it is to be all rivers of Twelve *tīrthas*—a reference, probably, to the places of the preceding section. This, however, did not mention rivers at all; the ideal pattern, one is tempted to conclude, exists irrespective of the wording of the text.

I have not found a parallel to the configuration of streams here preserved.⁵⁷—The directional interpretation, incidentally, cannot be applied to this compilation.

XI. *Clouds* are the next items, and here we are again on familiar territory: the enumeration of the Saṃvarodayatantra is almost identical (XVII, 41 ed. Tsuda). They are, in turn, (1) roaring, (2) shaking, (3) terrible, (4) whirling, (5) thick, (6) full, (7) with rain, and (8) fierce. There is none ascribed to the centre, doubtless by oversight.

XII. *Enjoyments*. This section I do not fully understand, nor have I found a precise analogy. In all nine instances, it goes under the label of *bhuguti-*, which is the Newari equivalent of Skt. *bhukti-* ‘enjoyment; eating’. The vernacular form is vouched for by the metre, without an exception. This means the etymology either was not present to the author, or—and this seems quite improbable—he did not care to use the Sanskrit form because it had different connotations. In either case, one would think the term must have had some special meaning.

This I am unable to determine from the single items. Grammar and vocabulary are only partly transparent. Hence, the rendering is most imperfect.

(1) Blood with ?what is of five *patākas*? (*patāka-* unclear). — (2) A piece of buffalo meat (3) and a ?fluid?⁵⁸ light, warm, well adorned. — (4) A cake, of well-ground (flour) from husked grains of rice. — (5) A *patāka-* of five ?colours?.⁵⁹ (6) A preparation of fish (? *matsyaka-*) (made from) two fishes, well-adorned. — (7) Red lead and collyrium. — (8) All fluids/juices of various kinds of meat which are good to drink. — (9) Alcohol and meat ...⁶⁰

No doubt one detects parallels to the traditional set of the ‘Five M’s’: alcohol (*madya-*), meat (*māṃsa-*), fish (*matsya-*), and *mudrā-* when assigned the meaning of ‘cereals’; no doubt one notices the analogy to the various types of offerings listed in XV, below. But the reason why these different types of food are assembled still remains to be discovered.

XIII. *The Goddesses, their Signs, and Śiva*. The names of the goddesses are now repeated, in the sequence of I and III, *supra*. A special mark is added, to identify each of them, called *lāñchana-*.⁶¹ This is followed by a manifestation of Śiva, whose relation to the goddess is not commented upon. This gives the following combinations:

<i>Goddess</i>	<i>Mark</i>	<i>Śiva</i>
Brahmāyaṇī	flag	Paśupati
Maheśvarī	elephant	Sa-iśvara
Kaumārī	smoke	Śaṅkareśvara
Vaiṣṇavī	dog	Tripurāntaka
Vārāhī	lion	Śrīkaṇṭha
Indrāyanī	serpent	Mṛtyuñjaya
Cāmuṇḍā	ass	Kapālabhṛt
Mahālakṣmī	crow	Maheśvara
all	all	0

XIV. *Adoration of the Lord of the Field.* Attention is now being given to the Bhairava who is ‘Lord of the Field’. He is not named, and the arrangement significantly deviates from custom. The goddesses were distinguished from each other by different appurtenances. The ninefold Lord is not: variations are almost exclusively verbal, achieved by using synonyms or changing the order of words. Thus, it is probably not the nine separate Bhairavas of IVb, *supra*, who after all do differ from each other: it will be the Central Bhairava who is meant—which ties in with the ending of XIII where all the goddesses are attributed to him.

In all instances, this Bhairava is attended by (a) either Skanda or Ganeśa (: and expressions like *vighnarājam skandam* p. 305 would suggest there was little conceptual difference between them in the author’s mind), and (b) two divine beings, called Lioness and Tigress (or Lion-Mouth and Tiger-Mouth: verbal variation is a prominent feature of either list.) Their connection with the Mothers is firm: Bhairava, Ganeśa, Lioness and Tigress accompany the goddesses in the Bhaktapur Navadurgā dances, and eight Ganeśas appear in the idealized map of Bhaktapur.⁶²

XV. *Worshipping the Deities.* The Mothers and the Bhairavas are to be worshipped in various steps. All of them are identical for all gods, the differences again being merely verbal.

Apart from fasting during the daytime, and worshipping the deity at night, the pilgrim is to offer flowers, incense, lamps, (ritual) foodstuffs, and red lead: i.e., the items of the *pāñcopacāra* list, with *sindura-* instead of *gandha-*. This is supplemented by a second group of five offerings: alcohol, flesh, condiments? (*lehya-*⁶³), drink, flour/baked goods.

XVI. *Rewards.* The rewards of the pilgrimage consist in Unwholesome States of the mind being relinquished, and fruits being obtained. In intent and means, this passage is very close to that of 4 (II, VII, XII), of course reduced to nine points, since it is nine *tīrthas* only that have to be explained.

As to the Unwholesome States, there is nothing but a change of sequence between the present version and the earlier one: evil (*pāpa-*) is shifted to the end, i.e. is abandoned by visiting the central Bhairava. This is no doubt an improvement: the most comprehensive term stands last.

The Fruits closely reproduce what is a familiar series of goals of Tantrik worship. The Twenty-Third Chapter of the Saṃvarodayatantra mentions most of them when describing the sacrifices (*homas*) to be undertaken for different aims. The Purāṇa lists (1) peace/pacification, (2) increase (*puṣṭi-*), subjugation ((3) *vasyā-*, (4) *vaśikarana-*)), (5) sexual intercourse, (6) stiffening/paralysing, (7) killing, (8) expelling, (9) all of the preceding.

These rewards are related to the Unwholesome States only in a most perfunctory manner. The *dambha-/stambhana-* pair, deceit and paralysing, one might think joined by assonance. Only jealousy and sexual intercourse stem from related semantic fields. For the rest, conjunctions seem completely arbitrary, and the intentions behind the separate series are doubtless not easily reconciled. Yet the author could pair them.

XVII. *Conclusion.* The pilgrimage is to end with recitations of sacred formulas and praises to the respective deity, to be performed by, or in the presence of, people of spiritual achievement, both male and female. This is again an instance of 'controlled variation' within the same semantic sphere: there are—always of both sexes—'teachers' (*ācāryas*), yogins, ascetics,⁶⁴ and people who meditate (*dhyānin*-).—A feast terminates the pilgrimage.

This, then, is the inventory of what a pilgrim is to do and consider when visiting the Nine Tirthas. Within the compass of ten verses, the description of a holy site touches upon more than two dozen subjects—and these as a rule do not consist of isolated observations, fitted to the nature of a particular *tīrtha* or its deity, but come from systems, pruned or embellished so as to fit into the pre-determined pattern. As a unified body of thoughts and facts, this is unexpected and, perhaps, not easily understood. We shall try to describe some of its implications.

In spite of the obvious care the authors bestowed upon their compilations, they do not leave the overall impression of cogency or homogeneity. Nor are they occasioned by Buddhist doctrine. And in passing, we have occasionally dwelt upon disparities, such as the lack of harmony between undesirable and desirable states of the mind. Such inconsistencies are by no means rare.

All these incompatibilities, though, vanish before the one overwhelming question. The text attaches particular spiritual or moral categories, books or trees, to particular holy sites; it nowhere justifies or even explains these conjunctions. Yet they are anything but self-evident. Why should the Lalitavistara be read or fraud be fought or buffalo meat be eaten or *gāthās* be sung at one place rather than another? It is the problem of such seemingly arbitrary connections that we shall now address ourselves to.

(1) What must be one source of such connections is quite common. *Tīrthas* will usually have a certain day when visiting them is considered most auspicious. And books written in their praise (*māhātmyas*) will probably always list the rewards to be expected from

pilgrimages. Though these are often expressed in general and comprehensive terms, there are cases where promised results are quite specific: Shrine A will help against a tooth-ache, Shrine B when news are overdue. Matters related to pilgrimage, its ways and means and effects, then, can be easily fitted into this model. With certain letters or cremation grounds, the pattern is less satisfactory, and the motive for conceptual extensions remains unexplained.

(2) In their technique, the Purāṇa lists bear a strong similarity to the conceptual chains that are so prominent a means of Buddhist teaching. It is not only compilations like the Mahāvyutpatti which present words and ideas in an order roughly systematic: the Buddhist chains arranged by the number of items in the chain would have been even more to the point. If the authors had ‘opened their Daśottarasūtra’, the Nipātas of Eight, Nine, Ten (and, possibly, of Twelve⁶⁵) would have provided them with a good deal of material conveniently arranged.—It does not look, though, as if these had been among the immediate sources: what we do find is either (a) current concepts, or (b) chains already correlated and interpreted (: the Cremation Ground sequence).

(3) We remain, then, with the directional pattern as the chief source for the conglomeration of concepts. No doubt the Buddhist methods of enumeration and particularization are closely related. But the process of focussing upon the centre where opposites are resolved seems to have been most fully explored in Hinduism, and this is the device the Purāṇa constantly employs.

As we have said, there seems to be nothing that ties this book or that Unwholesome Quality to a particular site. All Jewels are equally important; none of the Unwholesome Qualities is conducive to release, they all have to be overcome—which is effected by visiting *all tīrthas*. It is the structural pattern of these lists, the Eight or Twelve, which demands that Jewels or Qualities appear as single items: they yield their full meaning only when taken together.

(4) And the force of the pattern can hardly be overrated: it was strong enough to lead to expansions of time-hallowed lists of concepts. Imagine a Christian author adding to the Ten Commandments, or to the Books of the Bible. Yet this is what the Purāṇa does. Twelve *tīrthas* there are, to correspond to the twelve months:

hence, there have to be twelve Growths rather than the canonical Seven,⁶⁶ twelve Jewels rather than Nine; twelve Unwholesome States rather than Ten. Nor is the inverse process of reduction unknown. There is a group of Ten Goddesses called the Daśamahāvidyās. When fitted into a map organized on the directional pattern, they are reduced to eight, by a process of omission.⁶⁷

And one should note it is well-established series of familiar figures or concepts which are being dealt with in this way. Nobody, I submit, will have taken such departures from tradition lightly. To warrant such audacity, the pattern must have been thought the very embodiment of Truth.

(5) In order to appreciate the significance of conjunctions like those we have dealt with, it is perhaps helpful to ask a simple question. Can we think of a list of concepts—or objects, for that matter—which could on no account be fitted into the pattern? I think the answer lies in the wide variety of topics in both long lists; it lies in their very haphazardness; it lies in the fact that not even their sole formal requirement, eight items or twelve, is a must. From all this I would conclude such lists can, in principle, be extended *ad libitum*. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that it is the emergence of a new world picture that we are witnessing. Heterogeneous materials are being subsumed under a governing principle, that of time or space. These universal parameters of conditioned existence then attract other facts or systems, and impose their pattern upon them.⁶⁸

To be sure, the methods employed are those familiar of old, from Brāhmaṇa times onwards. The Purāṇa (and the kind of thinking it exemplifies) differs from them in that the result is pre-established: facts have to be fitted into the pattern; the image is truth. And this way of structuring experience had enjoyed a wide popularity. Of texts here quoted, the Samvarodayatantra, the Śmaśānavidhi, the Niṣpannayogāvalī all use it, in much more disciplined and cogent ways. And this is the point, in a sense. When colours are related to directions, then this is by virtue of the deities there placed. On the other hand, when the Purāṇa turns to the familiar speculations about letters and distributes them over the compass, a similar relationship is not apparent and not meant. The pattern is no metaphor stretched to its utmost limits; it is taken as a structure universally

applicable. Hence it reaches out and absorbs new sets of facts: the elements of language are brought within its scope by virtue of the all-comprehensive nature of both patterns, and not because of a particular set of phonemes bearing some sort of relationship to a particular direction.

Of such junctures, the Purāṇa offers an elementary stage where concepts are joined in a cumbersome way. The results are anything but persuasive. A coherent and convincing picture was not to be achieved by such means—which is why there are competing systems of the same type.

(6) For this, the sites themselves are perhaps the clearest example. All *tīrthas* of the second list had appeared in the first; but they are given different interpretations: what was a series of places apparently hallowed by custom is being re-interpreted as a sequence of Mothers, perhaps reflecting more recent developments in religious thought and imagery. Again, one looks at the concepts attached to each *tīrtha* and asks whether they could not be shifted round: the lists themselves tell us they could.⁶⁹

This means we have to take the two lists as *alternate solutions* to the same problem. In a sense, this is hardly surprising. We have spoken of the lack of cogency between sites and the properties attributed to them: there is little inherent conviction to these connections, and each *tīrtha* offers a conglomeration of heterogeneous items. Their extension, then, ought to have been fairly easy, and indeed we see List II much more comprehensive than List I. Each of them is an attempt rather than an image of the truth entire and exact and complete: it is, after all, *one and the same text* which offers all of them, and the two most elaborate occur within a few pages of each other.

This, I submit, has a bearing upon the interpretation of religious testimonials from the Indian subcontinent. It is but rarely dogma that we are faced with; usually, it is attempts, constantly renewed, rephrased, reviewed.

Which raises no inconsiderable problem to description. We tend to stick to the letters of our texts, and rightly so. This tells us, say, the seed syllable of the goddess Kaumārī emerges from the letter *ca* (p. 154, *supra*). We wish to verify this statement, and perhaps turn to the Br̥hatpuraścaryārnava (because it is a Nepalese compila-

tion)—where we find her *bīja* to be *kaum*.⁷⁰ Off-hand, we tend to draw either of two conclusions: our present text is ‘wrong’, or both texts stem from different traditions. What I want to submit is that neither conclusion may be adequate: in a sense, the Purāṇa did not really mean to say what it appears to be saying. Someone wanted to bring the letters into the overall pattern of the Mothers (: a common idea certainly not far-fetched both in view of general Tantrik opinion about the relation between words and things, and in view of the double meaning of *māṭkā* (1) ‘Mother’, i.e. the goddess, (2) ‘letter’ in magical diagrams.). He had to have the whole alphabet; he could fit it in most easily by breaking it down into separate components, and for this purpose took the standard solution of the *vargas*. He was bound to their sequence; he was bound to the sequence of the Mothers; and thus Kaumārī was, inescapably, assigned the group of palatals, the letter *ca*. I further submit this is not even an awkward way of putting it: the irregularity is resolved as soon as we do what we are meant to do, viz., look at the Whole. Breaking it down into parts is but a didactic device to assist comprehension and worship.

There is another turn of the screw, however. In order to stick to the example chosen, I shall have to permit myself a flight of fancy. Given the situation outlined, we can imagine somebody read this account and taking the narrow view. He follows instructions *au pied de la lettre* and produces a seed syllable for the goddess which actually does contain the letter *ca*; he can even find some slight support for his contention in Bṛhatpurascaryārṇava IV, 275⁷¹ (this is but a stray remark; I am not well-read in this field). This means he is fulfilling the instructions of the text and obscuring its sense almost beyond recognition. Of course, one might call the original wording ambiguous: in order to yield its full meaning, it needs the continuous application of an interpretative rule; some sort of *anuvṛtti*, as the grammarians might say. This, however, is not explicitly stated—and thus we might obtain a new appurtenance of the deity which, when passing through the ever fertile brains of the lettered, may give rise to new attempts at forming systems.

(7) One final point. The process we have witnessed is all the more noteworthy since it took place in anything but a vacuum: religious and philosophical systems had been evolved in considerable profu-

sion and with remarkable subtlety. In comparison, the concatenations we have seen are simple to the point of crudeness, the propositions often inconclusive. What, then, could have been the reasons for them to emerge?

The Purāṇa itself seems to hint at an answer. In the course of a long and well-told story which forms the substance of its sixth chapter, there is a pertinent remark. I shall have to give an outline of the tale.

At Vārāṇasī, there lived a monk and pāṇḍit, Dharmāśrī by name, who was wont to expound the Nāmasaṃgīti to his public. In this, however, he had always failed to understand the meaning of the Twelve-Syllable *mantra*. So he decided to go on a pilgrimage, in the hope of finding someone to teach him. In Nepal, he encounters Mañjudeva, recognizes him after a while, and asks him for the explanation. Whereupon Mañjudeva replies this can only be given to someone who has received consecration (*abhiṣeka*), but

‘to monks and beggars he gave it not, nor made them take it: the fruit of perfection (*siddhi*) is not obtained by (someone who has) dedicated himself to the rules of an ascetic, (but) by him who (performs) the service of auspicious *pīṭhas*, which is laid down in the rule of the Buddha.’⁷²

For a Buddhist, this is an odd thing to say: why should monks on principle be excluded from a way to salvation? No doubt these are traces of a dispute between propounders of separate ways towards the goal. And the advocates of Seats, of pilgrimage, of ritual always had their followers. In its chapter on Consecration, the Saṃvarodayatantra describes the ideal Vajrācārya and calls on him to perform ‘service at/of *pīṭhas* always, constantly.⁷³ Predictably, there are learned interpretations of this service, based upon esoteric constructions: a seat embodies one of the components (*tattvas*), as the Kathmandu Vajrācāryas say,⁷⁴ it ‘is the stage (of Bodhisattvas called) Joyful’,⁷⁵ as the Saṃvarodayatantra has it. Other factors will have been more influential, the most important perhaps coming from the general context of pilgrimages. Two of them are mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara, one of the reputed Hindu authorities on Conduct. When reading his praise of Vārāṇasī, we have to remember that many religious performances were restricted to members of the three upper castes. But Vārāṇasī is ‘the sovereign remedy for those of various castes, and for the casteless, the Caṇḍālas who are abhorred; and for those whose bodies are full of offenses, even of the chief

(among) sins'.⁷⁶ The directional pattern was chiefly used to organize sanctuaries, and it was in the pilgrimage to them that it was experienced and grew familiar; it had come to stand for the resolution of opposites; it claimed comprehensive significance. It now turned out these claims held good even at one of the critical points of Hindu society: pilgrimage was seen to resolve that most ingrained of distinctions, viz., caste.

To this, we have to add the transparency of the underlying pattern. Its very simplicity was a great advantage. It allowed for its application to a great many, and potentially all, fields; it did so in a way which, on a literal reading, could be understood *and handled* by everyone, including those of little learning. Yet it was not confined to them. Literary theory could use it to rethink the theory of the Emotions:⁷⁷ even the learned could—and did—take the pattern to mirror the highest truth.

Seminar für Orientalistik,
Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel

BERNHARD KÖLVER

¹ For Jitārimalla and his connections with the sanctuary, see H. Śākya (note 2), p. 132.

² Hemrāj Śākya: Śrī-Svayambhū Mahācaitya. Yeṁ 1098 [N.S.]. 56, 811 pp.

³ An analysis of the manuscript tradition is currently being undertaken by Dr Horst Brinkhaus.

⁴ *The Vṛihat Svayambhū Purāṇam* ed. by Pt. Haraprasād Śástrí. Calcutta 1894-1900. (*Bibliotheca Indica.*) (= SvP).

⁵ This is making full allowance for what by any stretch of the imagination could be called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

⁶ See below, 4. II, IX, XII; 5 XV, pp. 148 f., 158 f.

⁷ There often are phrases like SvP 397, 7 f. *anyajātibhih/atrajair anyajaiḥ sarvaiḥ.*

⁸ On an Aṣṭavināyaka group in Mahārāṣtra, see Kalyāṇ 48, 1 (Gorakhpur 1974), p. 426; on eight Avatāras of Gaṇeśa, *ibid.*, pp. 335 ff.

⁹ Two groups of three deities each constitute the centre of the ritual map of Bhaktapur I have discussed in the *Festschrift Wolfgang Voigt* (In: *Folia rara* ed. H. Franke, W. Heissig, W. Treue. Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 68 ff.).

¹⁰ For details, see N. Gutschow and M. Bajracharya: "Ritual as mediator of space in Kathmandu." In: *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 1 (1977), pp. 1 ff.

¹¹ SvP, pp. 370 f.

¹² For the Prajñās and the different ways of arranging them, see M. Ghosh: *Development of Buddhist iconography in Eastern India*. New Delhi 1980, pp. 93 ff.

¹³ This of course refers to the SvP only.

¹⁴ The deities of the second circle go by the name of Yoginīs.

¹⁵ See Gutschow and Bajracharya (note 10); p. 3 has a diagram of this sequence.

¹⁶ SvP, p. 313.

¹⁷ Bhāśāvarṇśāvalī, bhāg 1. Sampādak Nayanāth Paudel. Kathmandu 2020 [V.S.], pp. 31 f.

¹⁸ Sādhanamālā ed. B. Bhattacharya, vol. 1 (1968²), p. 207.

¹⁹ For this passage, see M. Ghosh (note 12), pp. 39 f., 78 ff.

²⁰ This, as Pt. Hemrāj Śākyā, Patan, informs me, is a mistake for Hluti.

²¹ Each of these, incidentally, brings the pilgrim a specific reward. The first six of them stem from the standard list of Seven Growths (*saptavṛddhayah*) (with their middle item, *sukham*, missing: but this perhaps was the reward of the seventh site which is inadvertently omitted from the edition). With Seven (growths) to be distributed over Twelve (*tīrthas*), there is a disparity painfully obvious. The author filled the gaps by what appears a random selection of things desirable: women, friends, jewels etc.—This, then, is a case of two conceptual chains being joined which are a very imperfect match. For further instances, see pp. 146 f., below.

²² The same juncture (*sanyoga*) occurs SvP pp. 298 f.

²³ The deviation against the normal sequence of the Ages, with the present standing first rather than last, is not explained in the text.

²⁴ This is touching upon the question of the efficacy of rituals, which we shall not pursue.

²⁵ tapah param krtayuge tretāyām jñānam uttamam
dvāpare yajñam evāhur dānam ekam kalau yuge ||

Thus Śaktivallabha Arjyāl's Jayaratnākaranātaka ed. Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Jñānamani Nepāla. Kathmandu 2014 [V.S.], p. 146.

²⁶ I owe their identification to Pt. Hemrāj Śākyā, Patan.

²⁷ em. māna- (see F. Edgerton: *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Haven 1953, s.v.).

²⁸ The text has *matsarjya*.

²⁹ For the first day, it is ‘one meritorious day’ (*pūnyadivasa*-) only. Perhaps, though, this is an error in the manuscript tradition or the printed text; a reason is not apparent.

³⁰ B. H. Hodgson: *Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet*. Reprint. Varanasi 1971, p. 49.

³¹ ibid., p. 39.

³² R. C. Childers: *A Dictionary of the Pali language*. Reprint. Delhi 1979, s.v.

³³ *The Vinaya Piṭakam* ed. H. Oldenberg. 1. Reprint. London 1964, pp. 88 ff.

³⁴ For details, see Childers (note 32), s.v.

³⁵ I am not sure whether we are to take this as an oblique reference to the fact that Newar Buddhists, whose life to an outsider looks like a householder's, are organized and live in institutions that go by the name of ‘monastery’ (*vihāra*-). The public the Purāṇa has in mind is not an initiated group: the text ceaselessly repeats long lists of beings that worship sacred sites. To be sure, Buddhists often stand first in them, but names of Hindu castes plus ‘other births’ (*jātis*) are rarely omitted. Not many of the pilgrims will have been in a position to sow dissent within the Order, and in this respect, the injunction is not really on a par with those that precede it.

³⁶ See, in particular, his Étude iconographique des huit cimetières d’après le traité Śmaśānavidhi de Lüyī. In: *Geist und Ikonographie des Vajrayāna-Buddhismus*. St. Augustin 1980, pp. 4 ff.

³⁷ sic!

³⁸ This is only in Ms. D.

³⁹ The printed text has *dhakāra*- (p. 304) and *cakāra*- (p. 308) for *ta*° and *ya*° This cannot but be an error.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., the *Bṛhatpuraścaryārṇava*, 12th taraṅga (ed. Dhana Shamsher, Vol. 4, Kathmandu 1974, pp. 213 ff.).

⁴¹ The idea of seed syllables is not altogether foreign to śmaśāna texts: see Meisezahl (note 36), p. 54 etc. But the *bijas* there quoted are built the orthodox way. The SvP instructions, on the other hand, are meant to bring the entire alphabet into the scope of the pattern, taking them as instruments for generating *bijas* and, indeed, the whole of language.

⁴² The identifications are taken from N. L. Dey: *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*. Reprint. Delhi 1971.

⁴³ Dey (note 42), s.v.

⁴⁴ D. C. Sircar: *The Śākta Piṭhas*. Delhi 1973², p. 83. For the equation with Śoṇitapura, see Dey (note 42), s.v.

⁴⁵ A few metres southwest of the Royal Palace in Bhaktapur, there is a group of four small temples. These bear the names of the great holy sites at the four ‘corners’ of the subcontinent, the *cār dhām*: Puri E, Rāmeśvaram S, Dvārkā W, and Badrināth N. See Niels Gutschow: *Stadtraum und Ritual der newarischen Städte im Kathmandu-Tal*. Stuttgart [u.a.] 1982, p. 182.

⁴⁶ Meisezahl (note 36), *passim*.

⁴⁷ *The Samvarodaya-Tantra*. Selected chapters by S. Tsuda. Tokyo 1974.

⁴⁸ *Mahāyutpatti* Bon-zo-kan-wa shih-yaku taiko hon-yaku meigi taishū. [Ed. by] Ryōzaburo Sakaki. 1-2. Tokyo 1965³.

⁴⁹ ed. Tsuda, XVII 40.

⁵⁰ Its Vajrasattvamāṇḍala has Hāsyā E, Lāsyā S, Gītā W, Nrtyā N; Vamśā NE, Viñā SE, Mukundā SW, Murajā NW. See *Niśpannayogāvalī* ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda 1972², p. 10.

⁵¹ The SvP has *caṇḍoga*.

⁵² Cf. Meisezahl (note 36), pp. 85 ff.; Tsuda, XVII 36 f.

⁵³ Cf. Kölver (note 9), p. 69.

⁵⁴ Sh. Das Gupta: *Obscure religious cults*. Calcutta 1969³, pp. 203 f.

⁵⁵ Cf. Kölver (note 9), pp. 74 f.

⁵⁶ Dey (note 42), s.v.

⁵⁷ Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5 are grouped together by the Mahāyutpatti (see No. 3304 ff.), with Pakṣu in place of Vakṣu (No. 3307). Perhaps both forms are wrong, and what is intended is the Cakṣu River, i.e. the Oxus (Dey (note 42) s.v.)—which would make sense in view of Sītā = Jaxartes.—The Varāhapurāṇa has a river called Varuṇatālī (see W. Kirlfel: *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Reprint. Hildesheim 1967, p. 106).

⁵⁸ SvP p. 303 has *mandakam*—a mistake for Edgerton’s *māṇḍa*³?

⁵⁹ SvP p. 306 *patākam pāñcavarnajam*. The metre of this line is disturbed.

⁶⁰ I do not understand the remainder of the text, which runs *bhugutim madyamāṁsaś ca sampūrṇenoktā yuktibhiḥ*.

⁶¹ Again, there are parallels in the Niśpannayogāvalī (note 50), *passim*.

⁶² Kölver (note 9), p. 71.

⁶³ The pw glosses *lehya*- by ‘nectar’, from lexicographers. The *Nepālī bṛhat śab-dakoś* (Kathmandu 2040 [V.S.]) gives *caṇī* etc., which seems preferable since it is offerings by humans that are being listed.

⁶⁴ The term is *rāgin/rāgiṇī*.

⁶⁵ See D. Schlingloff: *Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im älteren Buddhismus Ia*: Daśottarasūtra IX-X. Berlin 1962, p. 8 f.: ‘[...] es bleibt also nur die Annahme, dass der Text des Daśottarasūtra über den X. Nipāta hinaus verlängert worden ist. Nun

hat sich tatsächlich in einer Handschrift der Dīrghāgama-Reihe (484) ein Fragment gefunden, das die für das Daśottarasūtra charakteristische Formel *trayodaśā dharmā bahukar(āḥ)* enthält, also den Beginn des XIII. Nipāta zu enthalten scheint [...].

⁶⁶ *Supra*, note 21.

⁶⁷ Kölver (note 9), pp. 74 f.

⁶⁸ Meisezahl (note 36), commentary to plates, *passim*, lists various esoteric interpretations of cremation grounds.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., the transfer of *pāpa-* from one *tīrtha* to another: *supra*, pp. 149, 158.

⁷⁰ Brhatpuraścaryārṇava (note 40), p. 214.

⁷¹ *cavarga[ṁ] bhūtalam ceti rahasyam dākinīm āpi*: this is ‘scriptural authority’ for assigning a female deity to *ca* etc.—though Kaumārī of course is no Dākinī.

⁷² SvP, p. 351. The text is not as clear as one would wish: the agent is missing: confusions between the active and the passive voices are not at all rare in this corrupt form of Sanskrit. So are optatives where one should expect imperfects (most of which will be misreadings based on the minimal distinction between *e* and *a* in Newari script).—Dharmaśrī, incidentally, does obtain the explanation, apparently by Mañjudeva accepting him as his pupil. Characteristically enough, the text evades saying so in plain terms: rather than write down the obnoxious words, some pious scribe, a monk himself as likely as not, preferred to leave a gap in the story. The very lacuna testifies to the anomalous character of what was being said.

⁷³ *Samvarodayatantra* (ed. Tsuda) XVIII 5-6: *abhiṣekārthatattvajñah*. [...] *pūthasevā sadā nityam ācāryah so 'bhidhiyate*.

⁷⁴ Gutschow and Bajracharya (note 10), pp. 8 ff.

⁷⁵ *Samvarodayatantra* ed. Tsuda, p. 273.

⁷⁶ *nānāvarṇā vivarnāś ca candālā ye jugupsitāḥ |
kilbiṣaiḥ pūrnadehāś ca prakṛṣṭaiḥ pātakais tathā |
bheṣajam paramam teṣām [...]*.

in: Kṛtyakalpataru 8: *Tīrthavivecanakānda* ed. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Baroda 1942, p. 26.

⁷⁷ *supra*, pp. 132 ff.

PATTERNS OF MANTRA USE IN A VEDIC RITUAL

WADE T. WHEELOCK

Relatively little attention has been paid to the role of *mantras* in the Vedic *śrauta* cult, those sacrifices requiring three fires and based on *śruti*, the oral revelation of the Veda. Within the ongoing ritual tradition itself the mantras soon lost their original significance as they became mere formal components of a correct performance of the rite, valued more for their impeccably rendered sound substance than for their meaning. Even the exegetes of the *Pūrvā-Mīmāṃsā* largely ignored the mantras, since they provided little help in the crucial task of determining the exact *karma* enjoined by the texts. In the treatment of mantras, Western scholars seemed to have followed the lead of the Indian tradition, for the most part, focusing on the action component of the *śrauta* rites, with little detailed examination of the rich texture of meaning provided by the mantras.¹

But it cannot be denied that the mantras were an important embodiment of the meaning of the rites, at least in the creative phase of the *śrauta* tradition. From the *yajus* formulas accompanying nearly every action of the *adhvaryu*, the priest in charge of the physical handiwork of the sacrifice, to the lengthier recitations of verses of praise from the Rig Veda by the *hotṛ*, the mantras are a pervasive element in all forms of the cult. In fact, to analyze a *śrauta* ritual from the standpoint of its mantra component involves a problem of overabundance of information. How can one go about understanding the extremely complex picture generated by the numerous mantras? For my study, I began by choosing a medium-sized, but important sacrifice within the *śrauta* system, the New-and Full-Moon sacrifice (*darśapūrṇamāsa iṣṭi*, hereafter NFM), serving as the model (*prakṛti*) for all *śrauta* rituals not based on the *soma* sacrifice. This fortnightly ritual, which requires the services of an *adhvaryu*, his assistant, the *āgnidhra*, a *hotṛ*, and the *brahman*, who oversees the entire proceedings, along with the participation of the patron, *yajamāna*, and his wife, involves the offering of rice cakes

and other substances, primarily to the gods Indra-and-Agni and Agni-and-Soma. In the version of the rite I studied there were approximately 1,200 separate mantra utterances.² The research program must find a way of reducing this plurality in order to effect an understanding of the rite as a whole.

In an earlier publication I demonstrated that one approach is to produce a taxonomy of the mantras employed in the rite, reducing the many different utterances to a relatively few types.³ The fundamental classificatory criteria were the grammatical person and the mood of the verb, plus semantic categories for the subject and predicate of each mantra utterance. For example, all mantras that are first person indicative with subject “sacrificial participant” (i.e. one of the human as opposed to divine participants) and predicate “sacrificial activity,” such as “With the arms of Indra, I [=adhvaryu] pick you [=grass bundle] up,” would form one type. And these could be further subdivided by adjuncts, distinguishing those with an instrumental clause, as the above “with the arms of Indra,” from those with a dative clause, such as “I [=yajamāna] take you [=butter] for the sake of increase of wealth,” and so on.

Using that procedure, the approximately twelve-hundred separate utterances of the NFM could be grouped into roughly seventy-five categories with around sixteen members each. Each mantra is no longer unique, to be viewed exclusively within its assigned place in the linear progression of the rite, but is a member of a type, having relationships of similarity with other members of its group. And in order to discuss the meaning of the NFM liturgy, one no longer has to reiterate every single mantra, but can comprehensively and exhaustively analyze the liturgy in terms of the mantra types and their abstract formulas (e.g. “first person indicative, subject: sacrificial participant, verb: sacrificial action, instrumental adjunct”). These utterance types constitute the elemental components of the NFM liturgy.

They also form into groups of related types, much like the chemical elements arrange into families in the Periodic Table. These major groups of utterance types cohere around three themes which are primarily associated with the principal participants: 1) the adhvaryu group, focused on the physical components of the sacrifice, the actors, objects, and actions, which are verbally

transformed into manifestations of cosmic forces that can be manipulated and cajoled to work for the goals of the ritual; 2) the hotṛ group, with concern for the deities as its unifying thread, constituting a complex verbal etiquette to host the feast for the gods; and 3) the yajamāna group, which revolves around the expression of his desires for personal prosperity, both by means of pleasing the invited gods and by connecting himself to the power concretized in the ritual symbols. Table 1 gives the major utterance types connected with each of those themes.⁴

Table 1. Major utterance Types in the NFM arranged by thematic Group

The Adhvaryu Group

- First person indicative, subject: sacrificial participant, verb: sacrificial manipulation
- Second/third person indicative, subject: sacrificial object
- First person optative, subject: sacrificial participant, verb: sacrificial act
- Third person optative, subject: sacrificial object
- Third person optative, subject: deity, verb: sacrificial act
- Second person imperative, subject: sacrificial participant, verb: speak/sacrificial act
- Second person imperative, subject: sacrificial object, verb: sacrificial act/promote prosperity

The Hotṛ Group

- 1) Invoking the deities:
 - First person indicative, verb: call
 - Second person imperative, subject: Agni, verb: bring the gods
 - Second person imper., subj.: deity, verb: come
- 2) Asking Agni to perform the sacrifice:
 - Third person optative/second person imper., subj.: Agni, verb: perform the sacrifice
 - Third person indicative, subject: Agni, verb: sacrificial act, past tense
- 3) Praising the deities:
 - Second/third person indic., subj.: deity
- 4) Hoping that the deities enjoy the sacrifice
 - Third person optative/second person imper., subj.: deity, verb: enjoy the sacrifice
- 5) Asking and wishing for prosperity:
 - Third person indic., subj.: sacrificer, verb: prays
 - Third person optative/second person imper., subj.: deity, verb: promote prosperity

The Yajamāna Group

- First person indicative, verb: sacrificial manipulation, adjunct: for goal
- First person optative, verb: prosper

Such a form of analysis represents a decomposition of the liturgical whole into its component parts. It involved taking the NFM apart and resorting the resulting pieces into categories based on similarity. In the study I am presenting now, I want to reverse that process and reassemble the mantras in their given order in the rite, but now observing the patterns of relationship based on contiguity.⁵

The search for patterns in the liturgy is essentially a synthetic procedure. But the study of the synthetic processes requires the prior identification of the elemental components, for it is only in terms of those defined types that a description of the patterns in the liturgy can be made. One is seeking the rules that govern the combination of utterance types into ever larger units, culminating in the rite as a whole. These rules will define the expected or permissible combinations of units—the contexts in which an utterance type will find itself. It is important to realize that rules of this kind not only describe the behavior of already articulated utterances, but also prescribe the acceptable format for potential utterances. The rules discovered in this study will, in fact, be “generative rules” for the language of the NFM—describing not only the fixed relationships among the utterances of the text, but also the principles guiding the historical production of the text.⁶

Consecutive Mantras

There are several levels in the search for patterns in the liturgy. I will begin with the relationships that hold between dyads of consecutive mantras. To determine what pairs of utterance types repeatedly occur together one simply lists each mantra according to its utterance type in the order that it occurs in the ritual and then proceeds to see if one particular type is regularly preceded or followed immediately by another particular type. The analysis focuses primarily on consecutive mantras, those spoken together by one speaker with no intervening action.

The pattern between utterance dyads is not merely a statistical tabulation of co-variation. There is a logic of connection between the members of the pair. There may be a simple grammatical thread between the two, such that the direct object of the first man-

tra becomes the subject of the second. Or the connection may be more significant, with the first member stating a condition that is a necessary presupposition of the following statement. In many mantra pairs, this logical link has the particular Vedic hallmark of utilizing a *bandhu*, an esoteric bond between ritual object and cosmic power.⁷ The first mantra states the bandhu as an identification while the second mantra seeks to direct the power to beneficial ends.

The best defined dyadic patterns have the general form of an indicative followed by an imperative or optative. This grammatical pattern corresponds to the logical pattern just discussed. The indicative mantra is the statement of some identity or condition which the following imperative or optative tries to make use of. The mantra pair thus represents a movement from the static to the dynamic, from the identification of a useful characteristic to its active involvement in the workings of the sacrifice. One of the most common configurations is a second or third person indicative coupled with a first person optative. The pattern is typical of the *yajamana*, as can be seen from the following examples.⁸

- You are the *veda* [= broom]. You are acquisition [*vitti*]. May I acquire [\sqrt{vid}].
[Y, P, H]
- You [= enclosing stick] are firm. May I be firm among my kinsmen. [Y]
- You [= "Silent Oblation"] are deception. May I be undeceived. [Y]
- You [= *Idā*] are delight . . . may I attain to your delight. [Y]
- Agni has enjoyed this oblation, has exhilarated (himself), has made (for himself) a superior greatness. [H] May I be victorious after the victory of Agni. [Y]
- The sacrifice is rich. May I be richer. [Y]

The first example makes use of a word pun. The next two pairs utilize the physical symbolism of a sacrificial object and act. In the fifth set, "Agni has enjoyed . . .," the *yajamāna* follows the hotṛ's statement of the god's satisfaction in the sacrifice with the wish that he may himself ride the coattails of that success.

Turning to other indicative-optative configurations, there are many instances where the subject of the indicative becomes the direct object of the following optative, as in the first three examples, below. In others the subject stays the same in both members.

- You [= cows] are winds; you are approachers. Let the Impeller God provide you for the most excellent (sacrificial) deed. [A]

These [=cows] approach agreeably. . . . let Indra enjoy you, o cows. [A]
 You [=antelope skin] are the skin of Aditi. Let the earth recognize you. [A]
 This veda [=broom] found the earth. . . . Let it find an uninterrupted world
 for the sacrificer. [A]
 Agni is the god who is hot. May he . . . serve the gods. . . and may he lead
 (them) here. [A]

These are common adhvaryu pairings. The first utterance declares the identity of the sacrificial object or deity while the second expresses the desire that it aid the sacrificial proceedings.

The indicative-imperative patterns exhibit this same logical structure, but even more precisely defined and in greater numbers. Most frequent and interesting are those sets of mantras that first connect the sacrificial object with some principle of power (via the statement of a bandhu) and then request that that potency be put to use to further the prosperity of the sacrificer or the other participants.

You [=potsherd] are a fixed point. Make the earth firm. Make life firm.
 Make offspring firm. Shove his relatives around this sacrificer. [A]
 You [=sword] are the right arm of Indra, . . . you are of a hundred spikes,
 the wooden one. Slay the enemies. [A]
 You [=darbha grass] are armor for the earth. Be armor for the sacrificer. [A]
 You are a wisk. Sweep me together with progeny and cattle. [H]
 You [=pot of water] are real. May you be real for me. You are all. May you
 be all for me. You are full. May you be full for me. You are imperishable.
 Do not perish for me. [H, Y]

Mantra Clusters

In looking at the linear progression of the NFM liturgy one does not see an unbroken succession of single utterances stretching uniformly from one end of the rite to the other. Rather one notices that the utterances cohere into separate groups having fairly well defined boundaries. These separate groups I have labelled “mantra clusters.” Several characteristics are useful in defining a mantra cluster. The most obvious boundary between sets of utterances comes where one speaker stops and another begins. A precise and systematic account of the kinds of mantra clusters can be obtained by referring to the cluster’s ritual frame, the context of sacrificial activities that forms its borders. By taking into account the nature of the sacrificial action and noticing whether it precedes, accompanies, or follows a set of mantras, one can define nine typical contexts—which in turns means defining nine typical mantra clusters.

It is further the case that a cluster type will tend to have a particular content, as well. That is, a cluster can also be characterized in terms of the utterance types forming it. Thus a cluster often represents a thematic unity in addition to its purely physical cohesion. Generally, the clusters are the units of discourse for a sacrificial participant when it comes his turn to speak and because of their combination of formal and thematic cohesiveness might be viewed as the “paragraphs” of the liturgy. Table 2 summarizes the distinctive features of the nine cluster types found in the NFM.

Table 2. Cluster Types

Action context	Typical contents	Speaker
1. concurrent ritual manipulation	adhvaryu-type	adhvaryu
2. action by others follows	second person imper., subj.: human participant	adhvaryu /brahman
3. action, = offering by speaker, follows	first person ind., verb: offer	adhvaryu
4. focus attention on ritual object; little action	various	yajamāna
5. action by another precedes	yajamāna-type	yajamāna
6. action = speaker's movement	first person ind., verb: copula/ movement	various
7. focus attention on fire; (add wood to fire)	praise, petition	various
8. no action, no object	Agni; vow	hotṛ
9. offering by another follows immediately	hotṛ-type	hotṛ

Cluster types associated with the adhvaryu

Of the nine basic cluster formations, three are particularly characteristic of the adhvaryu. First, there is his very common cluster configuration which consists of many short sets of mantras having the actors, actions, and objects of the concrete ritual environment as their focus and being spoken concurrently with the ritual action being performed by the speaker. In these situations, the highest number of consecutive utterances is usually four or less. That is, the adhvaryu mutters only a couple of mantras per sacrificial act before turning to his next manipulation. This, the most typical utterance pattern for the adhvaryu, clearly shows the

finely meshed interweaving of word and act that is his hallmark. These small adhvaryu units of discourse do band together into larger divisions having one particular sacrificial object as the unifying factor. Such a cluster will typically have six to ten mantras all dealing with the major object of concern, such as the oblation material, the enclosing sticks, or the lustral waters, and divided among two or three separate manipulations of that object.

The principle of connection linking the mantras of an adhvaryu cluster is the sacrificial object being manipulated. It runs like a thread through the different grammatical components of the utterances—now as subject, now direct object, now indirect object, tying together what would otherwise be a wide diversity of concepts. Below is one example of how this works. It is a description of the utterances and actions of the adhvaryu when he goes to fetch the grass that will be used for a number of purposes during the rite. I have emphasized the words referring to the sacrificial object being dealt with to highlight its role in the mantra cluster.

The horse's rib (used to cut the grass). The adhvaryu picks it up with, “Under the impulse of the Impeller God, with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I pick *you* up.” He recites over it, “*You* are the cow-sitter [shepherd] of the sacrifice.” He heats it over the fire saying, “Scorched [away from *you*] is harm, scorched are the evil spirits.”

The grass. The adhvaryu walks toward the Āhavāṇīya fire saying, “This dhiṣaṇā, made by Manu, fashioned by the svadhā exclamation, advanced toward the *barhis* grass. The seers bring *it*, pleasing to the gods, at the beginning, here, the grass to sit upon.” He walks out of the arena to where the grass is to be found. He grasps a bunch with, “*You* are grasped for the gods.” He strokes it upwards with, “*You* are grown from rain.” He touches it with the rib saying, “O divine grass, [may I] not [hit] *you* lengthwise nor crosswise; may I hit *your* joint.” He cuts off the branch with, “May I who am *your* cutter not be injured.” He touches the stumps and says, “O divine grass, sprout with a hundred shoots.” He rubs himself with the cuttings and says, “May we sprout [like *you*] with a thousand shoots.” [Continues with gathering grass and bringing bundles back to the ritual arena.]

A second type of cluster associated primarily with the adhvaryu is formed by his commands directed at the other human participants. This cluster type is distinguished by its content, the utterance type “second person imperative, subject: sacrificial participant, verb: speak/sacrificial act”, and by its sacrificial context—action by others follows the utterances. It is by means of such clusters of mantras that the adhvaryu orchestrates much of the action and speaking

at key points in the ritual. A variation of the above type is the cluster most typical of the brahman. This priest has his primary liturgical function at those places where he impels (*prasauti*) the adhvaryu to commence some action. In the standard context, the adhvaryu will utter a first person future statement, such as "O brahman, I will carry forth the water," which leads into the brahman cluster. It will most likely include one or two mantras addressed to Br̥haspati or to Savitṛ, the divine counterparts of the brahman, asking them to aid the sacrifice. The mantra cluster will end with the command that actually impels the adhvaryu: "Om. Lead forward [the water]."

The third cluster type connected with the adhvaryu are those recitations he does by himself preceding the act of offering an oblation into the fire. Such oblations are called *juhotis*, distinguishing them from the more elaborate offerings preceded by a hotṛ recitation, the *yajatis*. The typical contents of the juhoti mantra cluster includes the utterance type "first person indicative, verb: offer."

Cluster types associated with the yajamāna

These show a wide variety, many defying simple categorization. One finds a miscellany of short clusters sprinkled throughout the rite, if nothing else, having the function of keeping the sacrificer constantly involved in the sacrifice. However, there are two clearly recognizable, fairly well defined cluster types in the yajamāna's part: first, a number of long recitations over a particular object; second, numerous short clusters recited after some sacrificial action.

In the long recitations over an object there is little manipulation of the object, the sacrificer (or his wife) simply looking at it while speaking. The actual verbs most often used by *BaudhŚS* to indicate the yajamāna's manner of speaking at these points are either *abhimantrayate*, the root \sqrt{mantr} meaning "to recite a mantra," with the prefix *abhi-* denoting "over" or "towards"; or *vācayati*, "he [=the adhvaryu] causes [him = the yajamāna] to say," plus the object spoken over in the locative case. With the action at this point slowed or suspended, the mantra cluster can give sustained focus to the sacrificial object—in the case of the yajamāna and/or his wife,

either the butter, the *iḍā*, the *anvāhārya*, the *veda* broom, or the water pot. In each case, the cluster contains many *adhvaryu*-type mantras, connecting the object to various cosmic powers and seeking to activate that power. Sometimes *yajamāna*-type elements are added, asking for prosperity on one's own behalf, or *hotṛ*-type invocations and petitions for an object conceived as a deity (as in the case of the *iḍā*, the remnants of the sacrificial offerings that are consumed by all the human participants).

The more frequent *yajamāna* clusters of the second type, those following on a sacrificial action by another participant, are frequently indicated by the verb *anumantrayate*, the prefix *anu-* meaning "after." The typical contents of these clusters includes a *yajamāna*-type expression of desire. The majority of these are recited immediately after an oblation is offered and take the form, "By the sacrifice to the gods for such-and-such a god, may I obtain some condition of prosperity." The predominance of the *yajamāna* clusters that are recited after a sacrificial action clearly gives the liturgical role of the sacrificer an antiphonal character. Throughout most of the rite the sacrifice is in the hands of the *yajamāna*'s agents, the priests. They are the ones who initiate the creation of the ritual situations, to which the sacrificer responds with the added element of his personal wish.

Miscellaneous clusters

Two cluster types cut across the divisions between the three major sacrificial participants. First is the cluster where the accompanying action is the participant's movement, there being no object involved. The typical content includes utterances of the type "first person indicative, subject: sacrificial participant, verb: copula/movement." Two very similar examples of this type occur when the brahman and then the *hotṛ* enter the sacrificial arena and assume their seats. These priests assure their identity and position at the beginning of their participation in the ritual situation by means of these long clusters of self-referring mantras. The utterances of the brahman, for example, include the following:

Bhūḥ, I enter. Bhuvah, I enter. Svah, I enter. Bhūr, bhuvah, svah, I enter. I enter the wind. I enter brahman. I enter the ruling power. . . . I am lord of the earth. I am lord of the world. I am lord of the great creation.

Another example of this cluster type is found among the yajamāna's activities performed solo at the end of the rite and will be discussed later.

A second cluster type not closely tied to any one participant is that used for the worship of the fire. Either there is no accompanying action, only the focus of attention upon the fire; or one recites the cluster while firewood is placed on the fire. Typical contents will include praise of Agni along with requests directed to him. Each participant has at least one of these clusters, but the longest and most important are those of the yajamāna at the close of the rite and the "Kindling-verses" (*sāmidhenī*) of the hotṛ immediately preceding the first offerings.

Cluster types associated with the hotṛ

These are particularly distinguished by their length and their independence of any close ties with the sacrificial acts or objects. The hotṛ is the participant whose primary duty is his recitation, and this fact is reflected in the more prolix nature of his mantra clusters. Because of the lack of a tight connection between his utterances and the acts or objects of the sacrifice, one finds a greater thematic unity in the hotṛ clusters, as the words themselves, rather than the sacrificial context, form the basis of liturgical coherence.

There are two cluster types particularly characteristic of the hotṛ. First, he has several recitations that stand alone, having no direct relationship to objects or acts, preceding, accompanying, or following. The content of these solo recitations is usually confined to a single hotṛ-type theme—invocation, praise of the gods, hoping that the gods enjoy the sacrifice, or praying for prosperity. For example, after the Kindling-verses there is the formal invocation for the NFM, constituted by the hotṛ's recitation of a number of second person imperative mantras asking Agni to bring the appropriate gods. The theme of hoping that the gods enjoy the sacrifice finds expression in a cluster forming the first half of the hotṛ's "Well-recited speech" (*sūktavāka*) after the principal oblations. In addition, the Well-recited speech, along with the "Happiness and fortune speech" (*śāmyuvāka*) which follows right afterwards, represents the theme of praying for the prosperity of the sacrificer. There are

long strings of utterances about the goals for which the *yajamāna* prays and optatives expressing the desire that some beneficial condition will come about.

The *anuvākyās* and *yājyās* of the hotṛ are the most distinctive and perhaps the most important mantra clusters in the rite, judging from the elaborate liturgical frame which is given them.⁹ These are the hotṛ's medium length recitations introducing and immediately preceding the adhvaryu's act of offering the oblation into the fire. Usually consisting of between one and four consecutive utterances, they vary according to the deity and the sacrifice and are most often a verse from the Rig Veda. Their formal setting and special manner of recitation unambiguously mark their centrality. Below is a schematic presentation of the context for the *anuvākyā* and *yājyā*.

- Adhvaryu: “Recite the invocatory verse to [name of deity] (*amuṣmā anub-rūhi*).” (While placing portion of oblation in the offering ladle.)
- Hotṛ: [Recites the *anuvākyā* for the particular deity.]
- A: “O, proclaim (*om3 śāvāya*)!”¹⁰
- Agnīdhra: “Let it be (*astu!*) May he hear (*śrau3sat*)!”
- A: (After stepping across the altar to the south.) “Recite the offering verse to [name of deity] (*amum yaja*).”
- H: “Heh, we sacrifice (*ye3 yajāmahe*) to [deity]. [Recites the *yājyā* for the particular deity. The vowel of the last syllable is lengthened.] May he carry (*vau3sat*)!”
- A: (Offers oblation coincident with the call “*vau3sat*.”)
- H: “Speech is strength. Together with strength [let] in-breathing and out-breathing [be] in me.”
- A: (Returns to north side of altar.)

The adhvaryu orchestrates the *anuvākyā* and *yājyā* with his commands to the hotṛ to recite. The *yājyā* is introduced with a veritable fanfare—the loud calls between the adhvaryu and āgnīdhra, and the hotṛ's own introductory exclamation, *ye3 yajāmahe*.¹¹ Then comes the *yājyā* itself, with the vowel of its last syllable drawn out like a drumroll leading into the cymbal crash of the *vauṣat* exclamation.¹² The cry “*vau3sat*” marks the dramatic climax to which the *anuvākyā* and *yājyā* had been building. At the exact moment of its utterance the adhvaryu offers the oblation into the fire.

Besides their distinctive setting, the *yājyānūvākyās* have a characteristic form and content. The Vedic tradition has discussed what features are appropriate for utterances serving those functions, but, interestingly enough, the actual traits of the *yāj-*

yānuvākyās in the NFM do not follow those criteria with much consistency. Generally, the tradition has two sets of criteria for these utterances. First, content: the anuvākyā contains words that call the deity, asking it to come and sit at the sacrifice; the yājyā has words asking the deity to eat and enjoy the oblation. Second, form: the anuvākyā has the name of the deity in the first half of the sentence, the yājyā in the second half.¹³ Modern Vedic scholars have apparently followed the tradition's account of what these utterances should be, not paying sufficient attention to the actual state of affairs.¹⁴

Using all the yājyānuvākyās in the NFM, those for the full moon and those for the new moon, plus the permitted variations or optional additions, each was examined in turn to see whether or not it conformed to the two basic criteria of form and content. Examining first the “Fore” and “After-offerings” (*prayājas* and *anuyājas*), which have only yājyās, no anuvākyās, one finds that in every case the criterion of form (the name of the deity in the last half of the utterance) does not hold. In fact, each of these yājyās has the name of the deity as the very first word. However, each has an appropriate verb, all having the form “third person optative, subject: deity, verb: enjoy the sacrifice.” For the anuvākyās of the “Two butter portions” (*ājyabhāgau*), all the subjects are in the right place, but three of the four verbs are wrong; all the subjects of the yājyās are out of place, but each verb is appropriate, since the exact same optative utterance type is used as in the Fore and After-offerings. In the above groups there are, then, obvious criteria for the yājyās such that all should have the form, “Let X enjoy the sacrifice.” However, this satisfies only half the traditional criteria.

The principal oblations and those that follow to Agni “performing-good-sacrifices” (*sviṣṭakṛt*) do show a concerted effort to subscribe to the traditional criterion of form. Thus nearly every subject in these yājyānuvākyās is placed in the appropriate half of the utterance. On the other hand, only two out of sixteen verbs were appropriate according to the traditional standards. The situation with the *Patnīsamyājas* (“Offerings to the wives of the gods”) is less consistent. Half the subjects are in the right place and fewer than half the verbs suit the criteria.

In conclusion, there is a definite concern for form in the yāj-

yānuvākyās of the principal oblations and a concern for content in the yājyās of some of the subsidiary offerings. An analysis of the constituent utterance types reveals other dominant characteristics. While all five of the hotṛ-type themes are represented, it is clear that most of the utterances comprising the yājyānuvākyās deal with praise and petition of the deity to whom the oblation is directed. And the anuvākyās and yājyās are amazingly similar in content, despite the tradition's attempts to distinguish them. Statements of praise and of petition occur in comparable numbers and there is no set pattern, petitions being as likely to come first, in the anuvākyā, as vice versa.

The Structure of the NFM

The most obvious structure of this Vedic ritual is to be seen from the course of the mute actions, whose series clearly presents an identifiable pattern: the lengthy preparation of the arena and oblation materials by the adhvaryu and his assistants leads into the high points of the offerings into the fire and the subsequent consumption of the iḍā, followed by the declining actions of payment to the priests, the adhvaryu's "undoing" or cleaning up of the sacrificial arena, and the priests' exit. Most previous studies have focussed on such action elements in their attempt to give an overall depiction of the NFM.¹⁵ Will the *words* of the NFM point to a different understanding of the structure of the rite? While the actions and words use distinct media to convey their respective symbolic messages, they are mutually supportive, each giving meaningful context to the other. So one would expect some convergence of meaning between the verbal and active views of the rite. But it is clear that the action elements viewed alone cannot provide a complete picture.

The procedure for developing a picture of the verbal structure of the NFM basically involves describing the entire course of the rite as a patterned series of utterance types. Determining this pattern first requires dividing the entire rite into a relatively small number of fairly uniform segments, then seeing what kinds of utterance types dominate in each successive segment by counting their frequency and comparing their relative strengths.¹⁶ Rather than

charting the occurrence of the approximately seventy-five utterance types, I looked for representatives of the major utterance groups, those constituting adhvaryu-, hotṛ-, and yajamāna-type mantras (see Table 1). This provided a picture of the magnitude and placement of the different liturgical themes. To use a musical metaphor, the individual utterance types represent single chords while the utterance groups stand for themes. So by charting the occurrence of the major liturgical themes over the course of the ritual, one comes up with an outline of the overall "symphonic structure" of the "piece" (as in sonata form, for example).

The pattern formed by the utterance groups will not be the same as that derived by a straightforward graph of the mantras of the different sacrificial participants. Again, though the major utterance groups are primarily associated with the adhvaryu, hotṛ, and yajamāna, there are significant numbers of mantras spoken by each of those participants that do not belong to the corresponding utterance group. What the analysis of utterance frequencies seeks to illuminate is the *thematic* pattern of the NFM, not the mere formal pattern of speaker activity. What, then, does such an analysis say about the structure of the NFM? To begin with the broadest outline, it shows that the rite can be divided into three major segments.

Stage I

This first segment, during which the adhvaryu and his helpers prepare the arena and the oblation materials, is characterized by the overwhelming predominance of adhvaryu-type mantras. These utterances are used by the adhvaryu and others to transform the actors, acts, and objects of the sacrifice into an assemblage of divine and abstract powers and then instigate these forces to work for the prosperity of the sacrificer. For example, with the typical mantra, "Under the impulse of the Impeller God, with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan I pick you [=horse's rib] up," the adhvaryu partially and momentarily transforms himself into a godly being. "You [=wooden sword] are the right arm of Indra," turns a sacrificial implement into a divine weapon. So from the point of view of the mantras, the rite begins by having the arena

and its contents converted into a point of confluence for the basic power principles in the Vedic universe.

The only significant occurrence of a major liturgical theme other than that of the adhvaryu during this first stage comes near the end when the butter is clarified and placed on the altar. Besides several adhvaryu-type mantras identifying the butter with abstract powers (e.g. "You are brightness. You are light. You are brilliance." [A]; "You are butter. You are truth. You are the overseer of truth." [Y]), there are numerous yajamāna-type mantras spoken by both the sacrificer and his wife as they gaze at it:

With an undeviated eye I look at you for the sake of virtuous offspring. [P]
 I take you for the sake of the brilliance of the *brāhmaṇa*, for (being) the ruler,
 the supporter. I take you for the sake of the might of the warrior class,
 for (being) the ruler, the supporter. I take you for the sake of the people,
 for being the ruler, the supporter. [Y]
 I take you for the sake of excellent strength. I take you for the sake of good
 offspring. I take you for the sake of increase of wealth. I take you for the
 sake of *brāhmaṇa* splendor. [Y]

The power of the sacrifice at this point is embodied in the butter, and the mantras recited over it by the sacrificer and his wife show their effort to insure that their personal goals are securely bound up with this essence of power.

Immediately afterwards there is a similar but less intense situation as the yajamāna follows the adhvaryu's placement of the enclosing sticks around the *āhavanīya* fire with mantras of the adhvaryu and yajamāna type. The placement of the enclosing sticks is a "yoking" of the fire to its sacrificial duties and the sacrificer uses his mantras to make a connection between those firmly fixed pieces of wood that border the offering fire and his own place of firm standing among his kinsmen.¹⁷ This set of mantras, along with those recited over the butter, secure the yajamāna's hold on the sacrifice, unequivocally establishing these important sacrificial objects—the butter, the essence of power, and the enclosing sticks, the "harness" for Agni—as instruments of his will, serving his sacrificial goals. And his act in so doing is in effect the culmination of the preparatory stage, since there remains just one last set of adhvaryu preparations before the commencement of the main sacrificial proceedings.

Stage II

With the arena ready, the oblation material waiting upon the grass altar between the fires, the hotṛ now enters and assumes his seat. The tenor of the liturgy takes a dramatic change for now begins the feast for the gods and the dominance of hotṛ-type mantras. The hotṛ's utterances reflect the progression of the various sub-motifs from invocation through praise and blessing. In the Kindling-verses, his first major recitation, performed as the adhvaryu adds wood to make the Āhavāṇīya fire blaze up, the hotṛ immediately presents the elements of the new ritual situation: the fire, Agni, as the carrier of the oblations, the men who sing praises and give offerings, and the deities whom the officiants seek to please and from whom they seek aid. The focus has shifted away from the manipulation of ritual implements and the evocation of their powerful associations to the direct invocation of the deities to be honored in the sacrifice.

After eulogizing Agni's priestly role with the Kindling-verses, the hotṛ turns to the theme of invocation, as Agni is formally requested to bring the appropriate deities to the sacrifice. "Bring (*ā3vaha*) the gods to the sacrifice. O Agni, bring Agni. Bring Soma. . . . Bring Indra-Agni. . . . Bring the gods who drink the clarified butter." Then in the preliminary Fore-offerings and Two butter portions, the hotṛ uses his yājyās to express the desire that the gods enjoy the oblations. For example, "O Agni, let the gods, who, drinking the butter are being satisfied, enjoy the butter"; "Let Agni, being satisfied, enjoy the butter"; "Let Soma, being satisfied, enjoy the butter."

Afterward come the principal oblations (portions of rice cakes to Agni and Indra-Agni or Agni-Soma). The hotṛ-type themes stressed here are praise and petition of the deities. For example, "You two, Agni-Soma, freed the rivers that had been seized from insult and shame"; "O Indra-Agni, slayers of Vṛtra, with the beautiful thunderbolt, prosper us here with new gifts." [H] The solemn and highly formalized recitation of the yājyānuvākyās by the hotṛ at this point marks this as the liturgical apex. The sense of climax is reinforced by the fact that the hotṛ's mantras for these oblations are all extracts from the Rig Veda and thus bring with

them the flavor of the great ancestral poets of that collection of hymns and their inspired laudations of the powerful Vedic gods. Many of the former and most of the remaining mantras of the hotṛ, on the other hand, do not come from the Rig Veda.¹⁸

The offering to Agni-performing-good-sacrifices that follows the principal oblations uses the utterance subgroup dealing with Agni's performance of the sacrifice, both wishing that he undertake his sacrificial duties and stating that he has successfully done so: e.g., "Learned in the (proper) times (for sacrifice), o lord of the times, sacrifice here"; "Agni has sacrificed the dainties pleasing to Agni. . . to Soma. . . ." After the *anvāhārya*, the priests' rice-gruel stipend (*dakṣinā*) is distributed, the hotṛ's *yājyās* at the After-offerings represent a mirror image of the Fore-offerings, expressing the desire that the deities enjoy the oblations. This theme is continued and completed in the first half of the hotṛ's subsequent Well-recited speech as all the gods to whom offering has been made are listed and declared to have enjoyed themselves, e.g., "Agni has enjoyed this oblation, has exhilarated himself, has made for himself a superior greatness. Soma has enjoyed. . . ."

The rest of the Well-recited speech and then the Happiness and fortune speech mark the structural end of the hotṛ's part of the liturgy, as he closes with the theme of blessings for the sacrificer.¹⁹ Some examples: "He [the sacrificer] prays for (long) life, he prays for good progeny, he prays for increase of wealth"; "Let there be divine well-being for us, well-being for (all) men."

The role of the *yajamāna* throughout Stage II shows two major aspects. First, there are his mantra clusters recited after every oblation that is offered, expressing the wish that the particular offering will bring him some form of prosperity, e.g. "By means of the sacrifice to the gods for Agni may I be food-eating." The strong connection between his desires and the offerings to the gods is given final summation in the sacrificer's recitations at the hotṛ's Well-recited speech. For each deity to whom an oblation was offered the hotṛ says, "The deity has enjoyed this oblation . . ."; and the *yajamāna* responds. "May I be victorious after the victory of the deity." This pattern of an indicative followed by an optative (discussed earlier) is a clear presentation of how the mechanism of the sacrifice is viewed.

The second aspect of the *yajamāna*'s role in Stage II comes with the invocation of the *iḍā*. While the principal oblations represent the climax for the *hotṛ*, the *iḍā* is undoubtedly the high point for the sacrificer. In many ways the *iḍā* is a reflex of the butter prepared near the end of the first stage. Both are embodiments of the power of the sacrifice with which the *yajamāna* establishes an intimate relationship through a long series of mantras recited over the object. Yet the *iḍā* is obviously of greater importance, being the sacrificial object drawing the most concentrated attention in the rite. The *iḍā* is invoked by the *hotṛ* as well as by the *yajamāna*, who also offers it (/her) praise and petitions it for well-being.

The major role of the *adhvaryu* during this second stage of the rite is reflected in his commands to the other participants, mostly directions for the *hotṛ* to commence his recitations. This shows that the *adhvaryu* has been demoted from creating the ritual reality to merely orchestrating it. He has become secondary to the center of attraction, the *hotṛ* as a “soloist.” But after the central series of oblations is complete, the *adhvaryu* theme returns. Now his purpose is undoing and releasing the ritual situation that he had brought into being. It is at the point that the *adhvaryu* places the *prastara*, a small bundle of grass that is a symbol of the sacrificer, on the fire, coincident with the *hotṛ*'s Well-recited speech, that his liturgical role appears to reach its climax. The *adhvaryu*'s mantras for this action show that the burning of this grass bundle represents the sacrificer's ascent to heaven.²⁰ Holding the *prastara* over the Āhavanīya fire he says, “Go to heaven.” The *yajamāna* responds, “By means of the red (horse), let Agni convey you to divinity.” And then the *adhvaryu* asks the *āgnīdhra*, “Is he gone, *āgnīdhra*? ” The reply is, “He is gone,” and the *prastara* is thrown upon the fire.

But this is an act of destruction, of undoing, as well. For the burning of the *prastara* begins the process of dismantling the *adhvaryu*'s grand creation.²¹ The releasing of the sacrifice is continued when the *adhvaryu* then takes the enclosing sticks and places them upon the fire. The *yajamāna*'s *adhvaryu*-type mantra makes clear the meaning: “I release your [=Agni's] bridle, your reins, your halters, your harnesses.” The *adhvaryu* puts away the two offering spoons, the *hotṛ* completes his Happiness and fortune

speech, and the main action of the sacrifice is finished. The liturgical pattern has run its course. But the sacrifice is not over. Its focus now shifts to the *gārhapatya* fire for the *Patnīsamṛyājas*, the offerings to the wives of the gods (and other deities). It is next to this fire, representing the home, that the wife of the sacrificer sits. The utterances of the *Patnīsamṛyājas* mirror this more domestic orientation, being almost solely concerned with gaining healthy children. The liturgical pattern is practically an exact replica of the main sacrificial proceedings: the *adhvaryu* orchestrating the speeches, the *yajamāna* uttering his wishes, the hotṛ's *yājyānuvākyās* stressing the themes of invocation, praise, and petition, being followed by his invocation of the *īdā*, and finishing with a pronouncement of blessings, a second Happiness and fortune speech. With the wife having been included in the sacrifice, it can now proceed to its true conclusion.²²

Stage III

In the concluding activities of the rite, the sacrifice is passed on to the sacrificer and his wife, the priests doing little else but tying up loose ends before they depart. In this final stage the sacrifice is embodied in two objects in particular—the *veda* broom and the water pot. Again we find the sacrificer and his wife reciting many *adhvaryu-* and *yajamāna*-type mantras over these objects, transforming them into representatives of fundamental forces to which are connected their desires for personal well-being. First the *veda*, a grass broom or wisk, is handed over to the *yajamāna* and then his wife. What is emphasized through the use of a pun on the term “*veda*” is that this broom represents the sacrifice’s power of acquisition: “You are the *veda*. You are acquisition [*vitti*]. May I acquire [√ *vid*].” The case of the water pot shows a completely parallel use of the utterances by the sacrificing couple to forge an intimate connection between themselves and the potencies represented by the object. The extremely generalized potency of the water is highlighted by the *adhvaryu*-type mantras accompanying the sipping of the water, identifying it as “the milk of the herbs,” and asking Indra to endow one with this quintessence of liquid vitality, “the milk of the milk of the waters.”

The adhvaryu then offers a final series of oblations to once-and-for-all insure that the sacrifice he has made has been whole and flawless. This is followed by his last act in dismantling the sacrifice, the *samīṣṭayajus*, the throwing of the grass from the altar onto the fire. Afterwards the adhvaryu, the brahman and hotṛ utter short recitations and then all of these exit from the arena. The yajamāna is left standing alone, taking sole control of the sacrifice and becoming its complete focus. The yajamāna's total responsibility for the sacrifice at this point is seen in the broad range of utterance types now spoken by him. He no longer has any priests to act as his agents. At this moment he must speak on his own behalf.

The sacrificer begins this solo presentation with the “Viṣṇu steps,” an act that turns him into a focal symbol of the success of the sacrifice. He takes three steps with the right foot towards the Āhavaniya fire and uses a type of mantra cluster to accompany his movement that was discussed previously. The mantras show that the steps symbolize the sacrificer's ascent to heaven and the consequent establishment of dominion over all the regions. Thus at the first step he says, “You are Viṣṇu's step, slaying the enemy. With the *gāyatrī* meter I step across the earth. Excluded from a share is he whom we hate.” Upon reaching the Āhavaniya fire he worships it, saying, “We have gone to heaven. To heaven we have gone.” The yajamāna then uses hotṛ-type utterances of praise and petition in his closing worship of the sun, Āhavaniya fire, and Gārhapatya fire. Finally, he completes the adhvaryu's task of dismantling the sacrifice. He utters the mantras, “Who [or = Prajāpati] yokes you? Let him release you”; and then he releases the potsherds on which the offering cakes were baked, saying, “The postherds, which wise men pile up on the cauldron, . . . let Indra-Vāyu set them free.”

Conclusion

Like the brāhmans' efforts to ritually recreate the dismembered body of Prajāpati, this study has tried to reassemble the liturgical components of the NFM that were derived from an earlier analytic dissection. It has been shown that the components—the utterance types—combine in definable patterns at various levels until the en-

tire structure is completed. Again, one can interpret these different patterns of cohesion as rules that govern and in fact generate the production of the ritual. At the most general level, we have seen that to create an NFM rite, there are three well-defined liturgical stages that must be used. The three stages specify the kinds of utterances that necessarily compose the rite and the order in which they must appear.²³

Cutting across the three stages of the rite one can detect two distinct patterns. First, there is the adhvaryu's theme of identifying and transforming the various physical components of the ritual, which largely proceeds along a course independent of the second pattern, the hotṛ's hosting of the feast for the gods. The utterances of the yajamāna follow a middle ground, following the stream of the adhvaryu at one point, the hotṛ at another. The yajamāna connects himself with the hotṛ's pattern through the wishes uttered after each oblation. But he also participates in the adhvaryu's ritual sequence by establishing close relationships with several of the important embodiments of the sacrifice, such as the butter, the iḍā, and the water pot. In the last stage of the rite both fundamental currents converge in the person of the yajamāna, as he worships the god to whom he is closest, Agni, and as he himself becomes a transformed symbol of the power that flows through the sacrificial arena. *The* pattern of the NFM, then, is at least *two* patterns, following the separate leads articulated in the themes of the adhvaryu- and hotṛ-type mantras, but coming to a single conclusion in the final words of the yajamāna.

James Madison University,
Harrisonburg, Virginia, U.S.A.

WADE WHEELOCK

¹ Some remarks of Frits Staal perhaps best account for the rationale behind this attitude: "It is clear that mantras may have been originally connected with the ritual acts they accompany. However, since the rites continue to be performed even when the accompanying mantras are no longer understood, knowledge of the original connection between the two cannot be a necessary feature of the ritual." 'What is Happening in Classical Indology?—A Review Article,' *JAS* 41/2 (1982):280. There are a few notable works on mantras, for example Jan Gonda, 'The Indian Mantra,' *Oriens* 16 (1963): 242-97, but little attention is given there to the complexities of mantra use in Vedic ritual. However, this is a topic to which he has recently turned in two studies: *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna and the Sautrāmanī*

(Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1980) and *The Praügasāstra* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1981). A soon to be published work edited by Harvey Alper, *Understanding Mantras* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, forthcoming, 1985) contains several articles, covering the idea and use of mantras across a wide range of Indian traditions. It includes my piece on 'Mantras in Vedic and Tantric Ritual,' but few of the other papers touch directly upon the śrauta cult.

² The primary text for this study was the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (*BaudhŚS*), edited by Willem Caland, *Bibliotheca Indica*, n.s., 3 vols. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1904-24). It supplied the parts of the adhvaryu (1.1-1.21), yajamāna (3.15-3.22), and brahman (3.23-3.26). The role of the hotṛ was taken from *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (*ĀśvŚS*) (1.1.1-1.11.16), edited by R. Vidyāratna, *Bibliotheca Indica*, n.s., vol. 49 (Calcutta: Baptist Mission and Valmiki Presses, 1874). Also of great help was the *Śrautakośa*, edited by C. G. Kashikar (Poona: Vaidika Saṃsodhana Maṇḍala, 1958-63), English section, vol. 1, which provided a reconstruction of the NFM and translation of the non-mantra portions of Baudhāyana. For a translation/reconstruction based on *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, one may consult Alfred Hillenbrandt, *Das Altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1879).

³ 'A Taxonomy of the Mantras in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifice,' *HR* 19/4(1980):349-369.

⁴ My article cited in n. 3 gives a detailed discussion of all the utterance types, and see pp. 366-69 on these thematic groups. It is important to note that in each case the thematic group is defined not by who speaks the mantras, but by their content. It delineates, for example, an adhvaryu-type mantra which, though most often spoken by the adhvaryu, may be uttered by one of the other participants.

⁵ To use the terminology of the structuralist, Roland Barthes, the taxonomic classification of the mantras can be called a move from the plane of the "syntagm," the linear chain of constituents in a communication, to the plane of the "system," the classes of similar constituents in "synchronic" or "paradigmatic" relationship. The present study of mantra patterns puts the utterances back in their proper places in the ritual order (or syntagm) to explore the rules governing their sequential ordering, or their "syntagmatic relationships." See Barthes' *Elements of Semiology*, trans. A. Lavers and C. Smith (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 58. A lucid exposition of the concepts of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships in modern linguistics will be found in John Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 70-76.

⁶ Generative rules in modern linguistics define the set of potential utterances that are grammatically acceptable in a given language. See Lyons, *Theoretical Linguistics*, pp. 139, 155-57. Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976), pp. 32 ff., has discussed how this notion of generative can be expanded to include the "rules" of literary genres. I am using the term in a derivative sense, like Ricoeur, to indicate the abstract constraints on quality and form that must operate to produce a recognized linguistic entity (e.g., such literary entities as novels or sonnets, or a particular liturgical entity, such as the hotṛ-type cluster of mantras [see below]).

⁷ See 'A Taxonomy,' p. 358 for a discussion and references.

⁸ In what follows, all translations of the mantras are my own, though I often followed A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, 2 vols., Harvard Oriental

Series, vols. 18, 19 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914); and Karl Geldner, *Der Rig Veda*, 3 vols., Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 33-35 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951). Instead of a specific text citation for each mantra, I will use a letter in brackets after each mantra to designate its speaker: A = adhvaryu, Ag = āgnīdhra, B = brahman, H = hotṛ, P = *patni* (wife), Y = yajamāna. The general source can be located by reference to n. 2 above where the śrauta sūtra portion for each speaker is indicated.

⁹ The anuvākyā is also called *puronuvākyā*; jointly they are often labelled *yājyānuvākyā*.

¹⁰ The numeral “3” in the transliteration designates that the particular vowel (or nasal) is to be held for the elongated period of three counts. In an actual performance the contrast between these exclamatory calls and the rest of the recitations is very emphatic. In a *daršeṣṭi* I witnessed in Solapur, Mahārāṣṭra in July 1983, performed according to *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* and *ĀśvSS*, the calls introducing the yājyānuvākyās were at about half the normal, pell-mell pace of the other mantras, as well as louder and higher in pitch.

¹¹ This particular formula is called *agur*, “assent,” and is discussed at *ĀśvSS* 1.5.4-5. The initial word, *ye*, may originally have represented the relative pronoun, making the formula read, “We who sacrifice...”; or it may simply be functioning as an exclamatory particle.

¹² The word *vauṣat* or *vasat*, and similarly the āgnīdhra’s exclamation *śrauṣat*, are of somewhat dubious meaning. However, from the earliest scholarship they have generally been regarded as irregular augmentless forms of an s-aorist, having a modal value. See W. Foy, ‘Erklärung einiger altindischer Opferrufe,’ *ZDMG* 50(1896):139-40. After varying opinions, the scholars generally reached a consensus that they were derived from the roots *vah*, “to carry,” and *śru*, “to hear.” On the etymology of *vauṣat*, and the solemn regard with which it is held in the tradition, see J. Eggeling, trans., *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (SB)*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882-1900), 1:88, n. 2.

¹³ See the ‘General Rules’ in *Śrautakosha*, part 2, pp. 973 and 976, quoting *ĀśvSS* 2.14.14-32 and *Sāṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* 1.17; see also *SB* 1.7.2.17-18; and Louis Renou, ‘Les yājyānuvākyā du Yajur Veda,’ *JAOS* 68 (1948):79.

¹⁴ Thus see the discussions by H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1894), p. 387; A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), pp. 294-5; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1960-63), 1:144; J. Gonda, *Vedic Literature*, vol. 1 of *A History of Indian Literature*, ed. J. Gonda (Wiesbaden: O. Harrasowitz, 1975), p. 90. In the words of Louis Renou, the yājyā is “the verbal offering . . . [intended to] orally invigorate an oblation of some importance.” ‘Recherches sur le rituel védique: la place du RV dans l’ordonnance du culte,’ *JA* 250 (1962):165.

¹⁵ This is generally the case in Keith, *Religion and Philosophy*, pp. 319-21; Gonda, *Religionen Indiens*, 1:144-46; and Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 440-41.

¹⁶ The segmentation of the rite was readily suggested by the divisions already in the texts. Thus *BaudhSS* divided the adhvaryu’s portion into twenty-one sections (1.1-1.21), and *ĀśvSS* had eleven sections for the hotṛ (1.1-1.11). Because there was some overlap, my own outline of the NFM contained twenty-eight divisions.

¹⁷ The yajamāna performs a merely vocal yoking of the sacrifice at an earlier point, saying: “Who [or = Prajāpati] yokes you? Let him yoke you.” Here, after the enclosing sticks have been placed, the physical yoking is verbally augmented as, in the words of *BaudhSS*, he “yokes Agni with the yoga (formula)” : “I yoke you with the divine brahman in order to bear this oblation, o you of innate wisdom.”

¹⁸ This fact was determined by looking up each mantra in Maurice Bloomfield, *A Vedic Concordance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1906).

¹⁹ That the śamyuvāka is indeed an ending point for the rite is clearly demonstrated in the *prāyanīyeṣṭi*, an introductory sacrifice of the iṣṭi type performed in the Soma sacrifice. It ends with the śamyuvāka, having no Patniśamyaśas. See Willem Caland and Victor Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1906-7), 27. Also ŚB calls this recitation the “consummation of the sacrifice” (1.9.1.24).

²⁰ See also ŚB 1.8.3.11-20, and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.3.9.

²¹ Ananda Coomaraswamy stresses the element of “self-sacrifice” in this act: the yajamāna offers up that part of himself which is evil in order for the good in him to live. ‘Ātmayajña: Self-sacrifice,’ *HJAS* 6 (1941):360.

²² There is a general concern for not “excluding her from the sacrifice”; that is why, for example, she was made to stare at the butter early in the rite. ŚB 1.3.1.20.

²³ Frits Staal has demonstrated that such principles of composition work on the higher level of the entire ritual system, such that more complex rites, the Agniṣṭoma, for example, are built up from simpler rites, such as the NFM, and follow an order wholly analogous to the syntax of a language. See ‘The Meaninglessness of Ritual,’ *Numen* 26/1 (1979):2-22.

THE MAKING OF A MANDAEAN PRIEST: THE TARMIDA INITIATION

JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY

I. *Preparations for the Initiation*

This study presents an overview of the sequence of rituals that make up the consecration of a lower-ranking priest, a *tarmida*, in Mandaean Gnosticism. E. S. Drower, the eminent authority on the religion as practised in Iraq in the 1920's and 1930's, gives an account of these rituals in *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*.¹ In the following, I rely on this volume as well as on two Mandaean texts, *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* and *The Coronation of the Great Šišlam*, both of them edited and translated by Drower.²

Examining the cluster of rituals that forms the tarmida initiation ceremonies, I adhere to the sequence of the rituals. More specifically, I focus my attention on a number of issues central to an interpretation of the ceremonies. Among these are: the relationship between the *šualia* (novice) and his *rba* (teacher); the balance of elements and insignia deemed "male" and "female" in the ceremonies; the puzzling injunctions against including or excluding certain words or formulae in the prayers at specifically given times in the ritual. Throughout, I attempt to keep track of the "logical progression," the step-by-step character of the procedure. For through this ritual, the novice is gradually transported from the earthly to the other-worldly, the Lightworld, realm, while bodily remaining on this earth.³

Any Mandaean of "pure" (not necessarily priestly) family can become a tarmida. He need not be married, although this is the ideal Mandaean state. The postulant has trained as an acolyte, *šganda*, since early childhood, and is usually ready for initiation to priesthood shortly after puberty.⁴ His teacher, who is a *ganzibra* (the higher-ranking Mandaean priest), gathers as many priests as he can to be present at the ceremony for the novice. First, there is a ritual slaughter of a sheep⁵ which serves to ward off evil.⁶ But also,

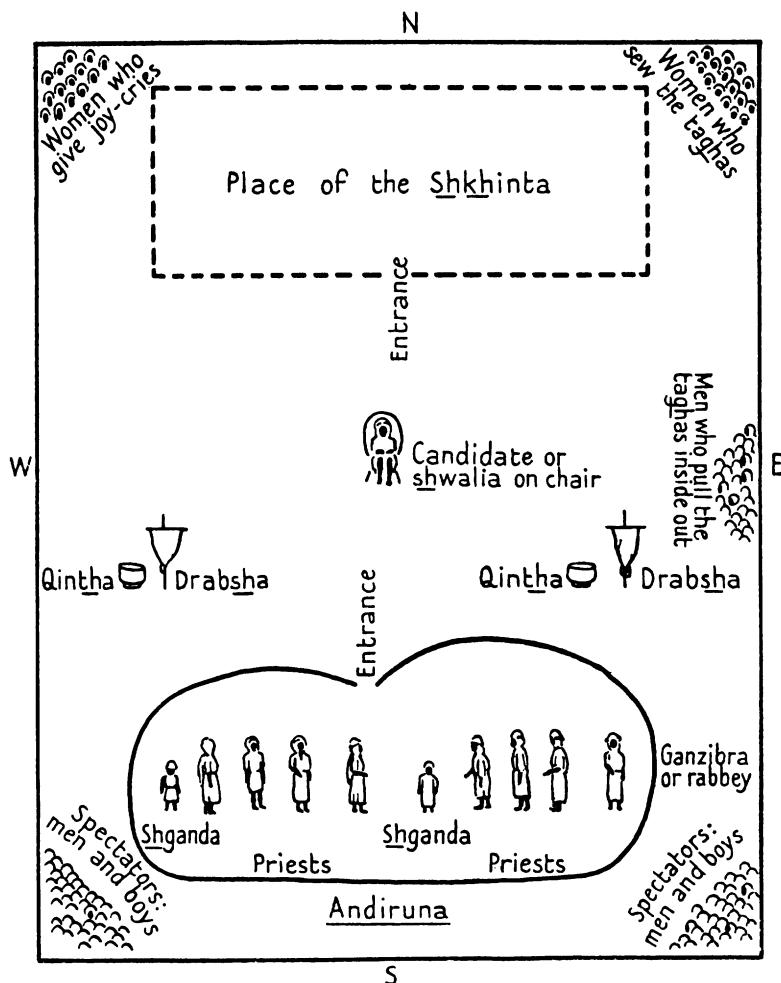
because the sacrifice is called a *fidwa*, ransom, for the novice, it is clear that the sheep is his substitute. The victim provides food for the Mandaean community, an obvious parallel to the new priest who will benefit the congregation with his services.

Before the sacrifice takes place, the initiand has been baptised, and now the priests inspect him, ascertaining that the novice is mentally fit and perfect of body.⁷ Next, the priests construct a reed-hut, ‘ndruna, over which they throw a blue cloth, the “little sky.”⁸ The hut thus roofed symbolizes the earthly world, which the novice is about to leave, for priests are specifically connected with the Lightworld, which is inhabited by priestly archetypes, ‘utria. Sacred books are placed in the ‘ndruna, and the rba⁹ prays the *rahmia*, the prayers for the daily office, in the hut. Sitting on a chair in front of the ‘ndruna, the novice receives a crown, *taga*, made of white silk¹⁰ and is publicly tested in his knowledge of the scriptures. Spectators are grouped all around. *Drabšia*,¹¹ banners symbolizing the Lightworld, are stuck into the ground on the novice’s right and left. Also to the right and left stand two *kinata*,¹² clay receptacles used for ritual tools.

Holding *asa*, myrtle, and the closed book of the baptism liturgy (*The Book of Souls*)¹³ in his hands, the initiand recites from memory. After successful recitation, the novice joins the priests in the ‘ndruna. Prayers ensue, and soon the novice and his rba are left alone in the hut for the night. However, before night falls, the other priests, aided by Mandaean laypeople, build a škinta to the north of the ‘ndruna. Ordinarily, škinta has two other meanings: the Lightworld abode of ‘utria and the clay-and-reed hut situated on the river-bank, a structure used by priests for ritual purposes. But the škinta erected now, at the initiation, is more fragile, built of reeds only. Unlike the ‘ndruna, the škinta receives a white cloth roof, signifying the Lightworld, as opposed to the blue “sky” of the ‘ndruna.¹⁴

To prevent the novice from falling asleep during the night in the ‘ndruna, he is kept awake by the din of festivities by the laypeople as well as by his teacher’s instructions. It is prohibited to leave the ‘ndruna empty at any time during the night. At dawn, both teacher and novice emerge from the hut, which is then destroyed. Standing in-between ‘ndruna and škinta—symbolizing earthly realm and

Lightworld, respectively—the šualia again recites the baptism liturgy, watched by his rba and the other priests who now stand in the škinta. There, they are readying themselves to receive the novice into their company. Two laymen witnesses bring the postulant into the hut.¹⁵



From, E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, Leiden: Brill, 1962 (repr. of 1937 edition), p. 151.

II. Baptism and Crowning

In the škinta, the priests recite prayers and partake of *pihta* and *mambuha*, sacred bread and drink.¹⁶ They greet the postulant with the word *asuta* (health) as he enters, accompanied by the two laymen, the witnesses.¹⁷ The priests and ganzibria address a hymn to the novice,

In the name of the Great Life!
Shine, give out Light,
Pure Mirror! In all worlds
Thou art an enlightener
Rise up, thou great ‘uthra, to thy feet
And awaken all thy treasure for us
So that we may shine and rejoice therein
And that ‘uthras and kings who sit in this škinta
May shine and rejoice exceedingly.¹⁸

Obeying the imperative “Rise up...,” the novice stands up.¹⁹ “‘Uthras and kings’”²⁰ refer to the priests and ganzibria. Clearly, the postulant is being welcomed as a new member among the Lightworld inhabitants, the priests and ganzibria.

As on the previous day—but outside, in public view—the candidate now repeats the liturgy to the assembled spiritual leaders. Three hymns follow; the first, *CP* 324, recited by priests and ganzibria, the second, *CP* 325, by the witnesses, and the third, *CP* 326,²¹ by all of them in unison. All three hymns praise the novice’s new, royal (*malka*) status.²² A myrtle-smelling ceremony follows: “[T]he king took the first myrtle, from the hand of the new king, who by him had been instructed,” states the hymn for the occasion, *CP* 327,²³ and the rba duly takes the myrtle from the novice.

Next, the myrtle is twined into a tiny wreath, the “female” counterpart to the “male” *taga*, the silken crown of Mandaean priests. Both of these insignia are required for priests. The rba asks his fellow priests for permission to baptise his pupil.²⁴ Having obtained consent, the rba and the novice go outside and the *maṣbuta*, baptism, takes place. During this ceremony, the rba takes care to insert the name of the candidate, that is, to make the *zhara*,²⁵ at specific phrases in the prayers; for instance, in the last sentence of *CP* 77, “Make victorious and raise up this soul of N. [candidate’s name] who descendeth to the jordan...”²⁶ At the end of *CP* 35, too, there is a *zhara*, “Thou... will set Thy living wreath upon the head

of this soul of N...'' and in *CP* 18,²⁷ there are zharia. In fact, *CGŠ* admonishes that "the whole baptism shall be with zharia."²⁸

After the baptism is finished, the celebrants exchange the ritual handshake, *kušta*.²⁹ Several other prayers occur before the conjunction of two very important prayers in the priest initiation, *CP* 71 and 72. *CP* 71 asks forgiveness of sins for "our fathers, our teachers, our brothers, and our sisters, and those who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body."³⁰ The clause "of our fathers," *d-abahatan*, is used to indicate the inclusion of all Mandaeans, past and present, and there is a tendency to avoid this clause *together with* zharia in certain prayers. This is a point to be kept in mind, especially as regards the concurrence of *CP* 71 and 72.

CP 72³¹ is recited with bent knees, a gesture indicating that the reciter prays for all Mandaeans, not just for one person. Indeed, here the rba is instructed to include *d-abahatan* and "the souls of Mandaeans, priests and head priests..." at the place where *CP* 72 asks forgiveness of sins for *one* person. So, here the rba substitutes *d-abahatan* for the zhara, for the prayer reads, "Forgive *him* his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes..."³² This makes clear that the emphasis rests on the collective, not the individual, at this moment.

The combination of *CP* 71 and 72 always concludes a specific segment of the priest initiation ritual, and is followed by a meal of pihta and mambuha.³³ This marks a repetition of the activities right before the laypeople brought the šualia into the škinta.³⁴ Honoring his taga and reciting *CP* 178, the rba is warned against uttering the wrong prayers here,³⁵ these prayers being *CP* 2, 4, and 6, which are širiata (loosening) prayers. The function of the širiata is to loosen, to deconsecrate what the consecrating prayers have established.³⁶ "Then hold a veil over the head of the postulant and disrobe him from the ritual dress (*rasta*) in which he was baptised..," and now the novice receives a "new vestment which has never been worn."³⁷

The rba recites the main Mandaean prayer formula given at the beginning of *CP*.

My Lord be praised! In the name of the Great, first, Other-worldly...Life!
From far-off worlds of light that are above all works may there be healing, victory, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiveness of sins for

me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.”³⁸

In the place of “Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš” the rba inserts both his own and the novice’s name, thus making two zharia. He also puts his hand to his head, a gesture showing that he includes himself in the prayer. Note that he appeals both to the male Yawar-Ziwa and to the female Simat-Hiia (“Treasure-of-Life”), the primordial couple in the Lightworld. Again, the balance between male and female is emphasized.

After a foot-washing ritual (in which one—or two—women wash the feet of the novice),³⁹ *CP* 345 occurs,

They took the banner Biham
And brought it into the škinta of Šišlam-Rba
And at the door of His House of Radiance
They unfurled it so that ‘uthras and škintas
Might shine in its brightness and rejoice
Exceedingly.⁴⁰

At this, the priest in charge of the banner (*drabša*) moves it and the holy book *Ginza* into the škinta. All the celebrants re-enter the hut.

Now follow antiphonal hymns from the series *Kt azil Bhira Dakia* (“When the Proven One, the Pure One went...”).⁴¹ Pertinently, the content of these hymns deals with the inclusion of the new priest among his fellow Light-Beings. In *CP* 246, at the words,

I have constructed thrones
Thrones I have provided
And have instructed the ‘uthras who sit on them...

the novice is invited to take his seat in the škinta. After exchanges of *kušta*, the priests address the šualia,

The Great (Life) hath stretched forth His right hand to thee
Put away passion from thy thought.
Thy thought shall be filled with Ours
And thy garment and Our garment will be one.⁴²

Next, following eighteen banner hymns (*CP* 330-347), the priests and the rba exchange kisses,⁴³ and each priest receives a sprig of myrtle from the rba. All recite *CP* 1, 3, 5 and 19, a sequence that occurs several times in the ritual. In *CP* 1, at the words,

Then that Lord of Lofty Greatness
Took a circlet of radiance, light and glory
And set it upon my head...

the priests crown the novice with the silk taga and put their hands on his head. They make the zhara at *CP* 19, “Manda created me, ‘uthras set me up, radiance clothed me, and light covered me; Haza-zban set the wreath on my head, mine, [zhara]...’”⁴⁴ After a number of prayers both from the baptism and the masiqla liturgy, the priests end with four *hatamta*, sealing prayers.⁴⁵

III. Marriage and Insignia. End of Škinta-period.

The postulant brings a bottle of *hamra*, an unfermented mixture of water, macerated grapes and dates, pours a little of it in a bowl, and drinks of it seven times⁴⁶ while the priest recite the pertinent hymns, *CP* 180-87.⁴⁷ At the end of each of the prayers—except for the first one—he drinks from the bowl. Like Manda-*d*-Hiiia (“knowledge-of-Life”), the Lightworld messenger who was consecrated as priest at the beginning of time, the novice is now enthroned, invested with priestly regalia, and incorporated among the Lightworld beings, according to the hymns. The drinking of *hamra* symbolizes the union of male and female, of the primeval Father and Mother, exemplified, as seen above,⁴⁸ by Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiiia. So, at this moment the novice is being joined with his spouse, a *niṣupta*,⁴⁹ of the Lightworld. Being transported from earth to Lightworld, the new priest fittingly acquires a Lightworld wife, even though he might already have an earthly one. Niṣupiata (pl. of *niṣupta*) are mentioned in two hymns accompanying the *hamra*-ritual, *CP* 186 and 189. Šarhat, a *niṣupta*, is mentioned in *CP* 188, the first hymn in a sequence, *CP* 188-199,⁵⁰ that is used in the Mandaean marriage ceremony.

There is now a series of ‘*niania*, antiphonal hymns. These psalms are exchanged between the rba and the priests, and they deal with coronation. For the priests, the sequence is: *CP* 312-318, for the rba, *CP* 305-311, so that these are uttered alternately: *CP* 305, 312, 306, 313, etc.⁵¹

CP 319 is a hymn for the novice’s golden seal ring, Šum Yawar Ziwa.⁵² The priests place their hands on this ring as they start reciting the hymn,⁵³

Thy strength shall increase, our father
And become mighty through this secret mystery Zihrun

By which all ‘uthras are strengthened.
Become strong and mighty by this ring
Which is given thee and over which thou are in charge.⁵⁴

CP 320 and 321, next, put words to the ceremony that follows, the distribution of crowns, tagia, to the šualia.⁵⁵ Then the novice arranges the *kinta*,⁵⁶ the ritual implement that holds the paraphernalia for burning incense. He puts his hand on his head as he recites the salutation prayer, *Asut Malka*,⁵⁷ before uttering the rahmia, *CP* 106-109.⁵⁸ At the end of the latter,⁵⁹ the postulant removes his hand from his head, indicating that he now stops praying expressly for himself. He throws incense on the fire at the recital of the two incense prayers, *CP* 8 and 34.

Now follow five rahmia (*CP* 113-117), *CP* 77, and a repetition of the prayer-sequence at the crowning ceremony: *CP* 9, 35, 15-18, and 25-28, the last segment being the hatamta.⁶⁰ At *CP* 35, the postulant bends the knee and again puts his hand to his head, keeping it there until he finishes the hatamta. It is worth recalling that at the first recital of this sequence, at the crowning, the priests put *their* hands on the novice’s head, while now that the postulant possesses his crown, he can do this himself. The hatamta “seal,” that is, conclude, this part of the ritual.

Rising, the novice praises the First Life, casts incense, and recites *CP* 65, a masiqta hymn. At this point in Drower’s translation of *CGŠ*, she makes an erroneous assumption regarding the specific instructions for uttering *CP* 65. She translates, “...(but) without the ‘of our fore-fathers’ because these *rahmia* of the *škinta* are (not?) with *zharas*.⁶¹ The parenthetical “not?” should be omitted, for the point is precisely that the inclusion of the *zharia* precludes *d-abahatan*. The first part of the prayer reads, “Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established amongst *manas* of light, the Soul called upon and raised up and signed by this *masiqta* and (*the souls of*) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters...”⁶² Leaving out *d-abahatan*, the reciter specifically emphasizes the ascent, *masiqta*, of his *own* soul. Incense and prayers both rise upward, marking the novice’s hope that his own soul will, eventually, do the same.

A series of rahmia ensue, the šualia ending with *CP* 71 and 72. In 71, he is exhorted to leave out *d-abahatan*. To my mind, this omis-

sion is a conscious parallel to the lack of oil-signs in the second part of the masiqta, in which six *fatiria* are treated. These are small round, biscuit-like loaves symbolizing the dead, and they are signed—or not signed—with oil at crucial stages in the masiqta ritual.⁶³ The lack of signs encode the open-ended character of this part of the masiqta. At the masiqta performed at Panja, the Mandaean New Year, this openness is “closed,” the six *fatiria* signed.

To return to *CP* 72, the next prayer: here the novice is to include *d-abahatan*.⁶⁴ This is the second time—out of three—that these two prayers appear in conjunction.⁶⁵ In all three instances, *CP* 72 is prayed with bent knees and *d-abahatan* included. These two specifications stress the importance of the ancestors over against a concern solely with the praying person.

When *CP* 71 and 72 have been recited together, they are followed by the *pihta* and *mambuha* ceremony. Now the novice rises to his feet, recites the proper prayers for the water and bread, *CP* 36-45, eats and drinks, and concludes with two prayers for the ritual food, *CP* 59 and 60. The sequence of the ritual is roughly the same as after the baptism of the novice, with the deconsecration (*mgaimitun*) formula uttered sixty-one times and the prayer called *Šal Šulta* (“asking petition”), *CP* 80, in which the postulant calls upon a number of Lightworld beings. *Kušta* with the *rba* follows, and the postulant keeps his hand on his head during the *rahmia*. While prayers are still being uttered, “[T]he priests who are witnesses together with Mandaeans (*laymen*) come into the škinta...”⁶⁶ It is again noteworthy that outside witnesses, among them laymen, enter the škinta, for they attended the beginnings of the škinta ceremonies, and now they witness the end of this part of the ritual. *Širiata* (“loosening”) prayers⁶⁷ separate the priestly insignia from their ritual use and mark the conclusion of this section.

At this time, the postulant has spent one week in the škinta. Watched by the witnesses, he now puts away his crown and wreath until the next day. During the entire preceding week, the novice has been obliged to stay awake. Drower states regarding the seven days,

Each day the *shwalia* wears a new *rasta*, and clothes and food are distributed daily in his name to the poor. Each day he receives *pihtha* and *mambuha* from the priest. Three times daily he recites the *rahmi* with the prayers for the morn-

ing, noon, and afternoon. Each day the *ganzibra* teaches him three secret words...⁶⁸

So, *CGŠ*'s description of the proceedings since the baptism of the novice applies to each of the seven days, up to the entrance of the witnesses during the recital of the širiata.

IV. Baptism of Rba. Zidqa Brikha

On Sunday morning—precisely one week after the rituals in the škinta began—the novice prepares to baptise his *rba* while the other priests pray the rahmia outside the hut.⁶⁹ The text says, “And they shall instruct him to baptise his *rba* without *zharia*” in *CP* 35, 18, 168 and 169.⁷⁰ The reason for excluding the *zharia* is “because the baptism ‘of the sixty’ is that of the postulant, but the baptism of the *rba* is *d-abahata* (of the Parents). And all the ‘treasures’ in the ‘sixty’ and the *tabahata* (= *d-abahata*) are *mlabšin* (“covered,” i.e. identical)—they are spirit and soul.”⁷¹

This statement closely links two major Mandaean rituals, maşbuta (baptism) and masiqta, both of which connect the faithful with the Lightworld. In the baptism, the immersed person briefly enters the Lightworld, for flowing water is the form that the supernatural light takes on earth. I interpret the maşbuta to be a kind of horizontal masiqta, a forerunner and an oft-repeated correlate to the masiqta, the raising-up ceremony celebrated at the end of one's earthly life. Here, in *CGŠ*, more clearly than anywhere else in Mandaean literature—to my knowledge—the two rituals are understood to express one and the same goal, even to be identical in meaning and effect. Granted, the masiqta is not explicitly mentioned in the *CGŠ* statement, but the clause “of the sixty” refers to it. For the first (out of three) parts of the masiqta centers on the consecration of sixty *fātiria*.⁷²

So, the number sixty evokes the masiqta of the sixty *fātiria*, which corresponds to the baptism “of the sixty,” that is, of the postulant. Therefore, the three items: the masiqta of the sixty *fātiria*, the baptism of the novice, and the spirit (*ruha*; in Mandaean anthropology the middle element between soul and body) all belong in one category. These are correlated to their “higher” parallels: the Ṭabahata masiqta—in which six *fātiria* are given a special treat-

ment and which is celebrated at the end of the year—,⁷³ the baptism of the rba, and the soul. A baptism for the novice would require zharia, but one for the teacher is “of the Parents,” linked with the ancestors and with the Lightworld Father and Mother, to whom the full-fledged priest rightly belongs. (In all probability—although *CGŠ* does not mention this—the *d-abahata* baptism, that of the rba,⁷⁴ would include the *d-abahatan* formula and not the zharia).

At year’s end, during the intercalary Panja period, the Ṭabahata masiqa takes place, completing all masqata that have been performed throughout the ending year. A full-fledged priest symbolizes such completeness. In the *CGŠ* expression, the ideal, final identification of the two correlates—the sixty and “of the Parents,” novice and rba, spirit and soul—is conveyed by the term *mlabšin*, “covered,” or “clothed.” More correctly, *CGŠ* states that it is the “treasures” that are thus “covered.” Treasures, *ginzia*, refer to the ritual foods handled and/or eaten in the commemorating meals for the dead.

At this point in the ritual, the *zidqa brikha* (“blessed oblation”) meal occurs. The meal concerns not only the dead, however, for here it is eaten in the name of the rba. The food furthers the life-forces in the Lightworld as well as on earth (a *zidqa brikha* is celebrated at Mandaean marriages, for instance). One of the food items at this meal is the *ṣa*, a flat, rolled-up loaf containing nuts and raisins, clearly a phallic emblem.⁷⁵ Eating the *ṣa* in the name of the rba, asking forgiveness of sins for him, the priests and the postulant invoke the power of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia, the Lightworld couple.

There is, next, an exchange between the *ṣganda*, who plays the role of a Lightworld messenger, and the *ganzibra*. The former recites *CP* 348,⁷⁶ which makes mention of the primordial *ṣgandia*, and the *ganzibra*, in turn, addresses him, “Come, come, lofty messenger...”⁷⁷ as he takes a bottle of *hamra* and a twig of myrtle from the *ṣganda*. *Hatamta* follow, and the priests bless the novice as the *zidqa brikha* ends.

The next day, the novice is exhorted to include the *d-abahatan* in the *rahmia* *CP* 58, 65, and 71 ‘because (these) *Rahmia* are those of the *ṣkinta*, of the sixty *fatiaría*; (whereas) the *Rahmia* of the sixty days are ‘of the Parents.’’’⁷⁸ This explanation recalls the one given

above, regarding the zharia.⁷⁹ It seems clear that the present rahmia “of the škinta” are of a preliminary nature, contrasting with those of the sixty days, the rahmia “of the Parents.” These have a completing effect not attained by the rahmia prayed in the škinta. To sum up: the rahmia of the sixty *fatiria* correspond to the baptism of the sixty, of the postulant, neither of which have zharia, but the rahmia of the sixty *days* are correlated with the *d-abahata* baptism, the baptism of the rba.⁸⁰

V. Sixty Days of Seclusion. Masiqta for Rba

The “sixty days” mentioned just above refer to the time period which now follows, for the postulant has, at this time, finished his duties in the škinta. He returns to his own home, staying there, secluded from his wife and family, for sixty days. During this time, he cooks his own food and maintains strict purity.⁸¹ Each day, the novice prays rahmia and exchanges kušṭa with a šganda, who, again, represents a Lightworld being, the only kind allowed to come into contact with the šualia during these days. Regarding the rahmia prayed in this period, *CGŠ* teaches, “In those rahmia... there are one hundred and eighty (prayers), sixty rahmia for the body, sixty for the *ruha* (spirit) and sixty for the *nišimta* (soul).”⁸² What the novice achieves during these days, then, is nothing less than creating his own, new Lightworld self, praying into being a reconstructed body, spirit, and soul for himself. Consequently, these rahmia would include zharia, not the *d-abahatan* clause. For instance, one notes the explanation after *CP* 58, “If thou recitest for (several) souls read as written [i.e. include *d-abahatan*], if it is one soul say ‘Lift thine eyes upon the soul of N..’”⁸³

Just as the seven days in the škinta culminated in the novice baptizing his teacher, so now, after the sixty days in seclusion, the new priest performs a masiqta in the name of the rba.⁸⁴ I have given a detailed presentation of the masiqta elsewhere⁸⁵ and will therefore limit myself to commenting on the most important features of the masiqta as regards this specific instance of it. The most striking aspect is, of course, that the masiqta is celebrated for someone who is still alive. So, the ritual is, again, eminently comparable to the mašbuta, the baptism, which I dubbed a “horizontal masiqta” above.⁸⁶

According to *CGS*,⁸⁷ a *laufa*, a commemorative meal, is first eaten on part of the rba. The masiqta takes place in the škinta, but first there is a ritual slaughter of a dove, symbolizing the rba's spirit.⁸⁸ Wearing the same ritual dress he had on at the šualia's consecration on the first day of the tarmida ritual, the rba keeps silent. He utters no word, for during the dove-sacrifice he is ritually dead. Quiet, the rba nevertheless keeps a keen eye on the proceedings and on his pupil.

After the dove-slaughter, the rba de-consecrates himself and, becoming a spectator,⁸⁹ he may prompt his student if the latter loses his track in the prayers. At the start of the masiqta, the novice utters the formula found in the beginning of *CP*, "In the name of the Great, First, Strange Life! From the worlds of Light may there be health, purity and forgiveness of sins for me [zhara]."⁹⁰ Having inserted his own name, the postulant continues "Union and restoration of Life be there for [zhara: rba's name]...of this masiqta in the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia."⁹¹

In the lengthy sequence of prayers that ensue,⁹² zharia are due in *CP* 35 and 49, the latter being a most crucial prayer in the masiqta. During *CP* 49, the celebrant signs the faṭiria, the small biscuits representing the Mandaean ancestors, and he handles the unbaked pihta and the myrtle, which symbolize the rba's soul and spirit, respectively. Toward the end of the faṭiria ceremony, the celebrant leaves off signing the last, sixtieth faṭira, for this would halt the ascending soul and spirit in the *maṭarata*, the "toll-houses" situated between earth and Lightworld. Acting as the rba's Lightworld parent, the novice makes himself "pregnant" with the new Lightworld body of the rba: he swallows the hamra-dipped pihta, internalizing it and carrying it to its full term.

At *CP* 54, the novice is instructed to leave out *d-abahatan*, but to insert the zhara for his rba here and elsewhere in the masiqta prayers.⁹³ The second part of the masiqta, involving treatment of six faṭiria, follows. At first, the prayer sequence is the same, up to *CP* 49. Right before it, in *CP* 35, the expression "with thy radiance will thou clothe him..." is omitted.⁹⁴ This prohibition is not arbitrary, but linked to the lack of oil-signs in this second part of the masiqta. In the first part, this expression was included, as were the signings of the faṭiria at crucial words in *CP* 49, 51, and 52. It seems

to me that the forbidden phrase now, in the second part, connects with the lack of signs in these same three *CP* prayers.⁹⁵ Signs, which halt the proceedings, would impair the new body from being properly created up above.

The novice pronounces the formula “Union, renewal of life and forgiveness of sins be there for this the soul of [zhara] and the souls of this masiqta.”⁹⁶ Then, he recites *CP* 49 and the sequence to *CP* 54, in which he includes the zhara as well as *d-abahatan*, clearly opposed to the procedure for the first part of the masiqta,⁹⁷ but consonant, it seems, with the concern for both the individual and the totality of Mandaean souls as voiced above, and as seen in what follows.

Indeed, whereever there are zharia in the ensuing prayers, the novice is admonished to include “and the souls of this masiqta.”⁹⁸ Thereby, he excludes no one, whether living or departed. *CP* 65 is to be spoken “in a stentorian voice,” “Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established...”⁹⁹ The list of prayers follows partly that of the regular masiqta for the six faṭiria, partly the Ṭabahata masiqta.¹⁰⁰ Kušta with the šganda follows after *CP* 80, in which the novice has called upon various Lightbeings.

Holding his hand to his head, the postulant recites a number of prayers (*CP*, 3, 35, 58, 99, and 71) in his own,¹⁰¹ not the rba’s, name. And in *CP* 72 (again, not *CP* 170, as Drower states), he bends his knees and inserts *d-abahatan*.¹⁰² In this third, and last, combination of *CP* 71 and 72, *d-abahatan* is present in both prayers, no doubt in anticipation of the Ṭabahata masiqta at Panja, when the third part of the masiqta is celebrated.¹⁰³ Only in this masiqta are all souls secured into the Lightworld.

Having arrived at the end of the tarmida ritual, the novice now returns to the ceremonies at the beginning, eating pihta and drinking mambuha, just as the priests and ganzibria did at the start of the novice’s initiation.¹⁰⁴ De-consecrating himself, the new priest gives the šganda the kušta and leaves the škinta. He eats the zidqa brikha in the name of his teacher, while the other priests celebrate it in the new priest’s name. After reciting the exceedingly long blessings, *CP* 374-79, for which the new tarmida is allowed to use the book, he removes his taga, accompanying this act by the appropriate prayer, *CP* 178. Now, or—according to Drower—the

next day,¹⁰⁵ the new priest baptises his rba, for the second time during these proceedings, and he is now “authorized to (celebrate) all rites.”¹⁰⁶ This ends the sixty-eight day ritual of initiation for the tarmida.

VI. Conclusion

The sequence and combination of ceremonies that make up the tarmida initiation include several major Mandaean rituals, such as maṣbuta, masiqta, and zidqa brikha. Guided through these clusters of rituals, the novice gradually becomes a priest. He moves from the public hearings conducted outside, in the area between ‘ndruna and škinta, through the seven days in the škinta, and finally emerges from the sixty day seclusion period in his own home to start serving his community.

Throughout the ceremonials, a balance between “male” and “female” is kept. Mandaeism insists on such a harmony and designates a great number of elements as male or female. On the female side belongs: earth, laypeople, the left, silver, myrtle, and ‘ndruna; on the male, Lightworld, priests, the right, gold, crown, and škinta.¹⁰⁷ Rather than antagonistic opposites, these are complementaries. The rba occupies the position that the novice finally achieves, and the activities of these two are closely interwoven in the rituals. As the novice moves from left to right, his abilities and responsibilities are demonstrated, for instance, in his active role vis-à-vis his rba when he baptises him (after the novice’s period in the škinta) and reading a masiqta for him (after the sixty days of seclusion). The rba is, so to speak, the testcase for the new priest.

In parallel to the postulant wobbling between—as well as integrating—female and male during the rituals, the šganda plays an instructive role as mediator. A child and an apprentice, he is neither layman nor priest, and he functions, somewhat surprisingly, as Lightworld envoy. At various points in the proceedings, the šganda enters from the outside, bearing necessary tools, embodying a Lightworld being suitable for kušṭa-exchange. On the decidedly female side, one sees the laypeople witnesses presenting themselves twice, as the novice enters and as he leaves the škinta. As noted above,¹⁰⁸ laypeople are required at specific points in the rituals, otherwise these would be void.

The most pressing *crux interpretum* is the recurring injunction regarding the inclusion or exclusion of certain phrases in the prayers. First, these exhortations can be understood on a relatively simple level: the praying person is instructed to stress an individual by inserting a zhara, or to emphasize the ancestors by including the *d-abahatan* clause. In some prayers, both might be present. But in others—and herein lies the crux—the admonitions grow adamant against such combined inclusions. For instance, during the sixty days of isolation, the postulant's rahmia include zharia, but not *d-abahatan*, because he is expressly praying his own Lightworld self into being during this time. Rahmia are most often regarded as “constructed,” “built,” or “established,” (roots: QUM, QRA and TR\$), not “spoken.”¹⁰⁹ Prayers build a mental universe; and correct tools and pertinent use of them is essential. To build with wrong phrases, therefore, has disastrous results.

One may say, then, that the sequence and combination of actions and prayers gradually construct a reality, a universe. I believe the thrice-recurring conjunction of *CP* 71 and 72¹¹⁰ has a special significance in the tarmida ritual, similar to the role of the prayers *CP* 49-53 in the masiqta. For *CP* 71 and 72 offers a parallel to the oil-signings of the *fatiria* in the masiqta. The first time *CP* 71 and 72 occur in conjunction, they conclude the ritual of baptism of the novice, before he enters the škinta. Here, *d-abahatan* occurs in both prayers. As the šualia is about to leave the škinta for the seclusion period, the prayer combination again appears, but now with the exhortation to omit *d-abahatan* in *CP* 71. This omission leaves an open-ended act, similar to the unsigned *fatiria* in the second part of the masiqta. In the third concurrence, *d-abahatan* is included in *CP* 71, marking the end of the entire ritual. Here, it forms a parallel to the Ṭabahata masiqta celebrated at Panja, a ceremony in which all *fatiria*, that is, all Mandaean souls, are sought secured in the Lightworld.

The Ṭabahata must be kept distinct from *d-abahatan*: Ṭabahata refers to the masiqta at Panja, while the phrase *d-abahatan* (“of our fathers,” or “of our fore-fathers,” or “Parents”)¹¹¹ occurs in prayers. However, the meaning of these two terms is obviously the same. Calling the baptism of the rba *d-abahatan*, *CGŠ*¹¹² juxtaposes this ritual to the baptism of the novice, which is said to be “of the

sixty,” and to include zharia. This means that the novice’s baptism belongs to the earthly, female, two first parts of the masiqta. And the rba belongs to the Parents, the Lightworld Mother and Father, while the novice still remains within the earthly sphere.

To repeat: the relationship between the three parts of the masiqta is, 1. the treatment of sixty faṭiria, 2. treatment of six, the last of which remains unsigned at certain phrases in specific prayers, 3. the Panja masiqta, “of the Parents,” with treatment of six faṭiria, all of which are signed with oil. This third section, called the Father masiqta, is added to the first two parts, which belong to the earthly Mother side. It is the combination of the three parts that makes it Ṭabahata, in the sense of “of the Parents.” During the tarmida initiation, this last part is, of course, not included. But the concurrence of *CP* 71 and 72, with its injunction regarding *d-abahatan* in *CP* 71, expresses the idea behind the three-part masiqta, with *its* rules regarding the faṭiria. Recall that in the masiqta the faṭiria symbolize the ancestors, the abahata! I suspect that in the masiqta the pihta—handled separately from the faṭiria—is similarly linked to the zhara in the tarmida ritual. So, at crucial points in these rituals, the emphasis shifts back and forth between the individual and the collective, between zhara and *d-abahatan*, between pihta and faṭiria.

In my interpretation, baptism and masiqta convey the same goal. During earthly life, every Mandaean repeatedly undergoes “horizontal” immersion into the Lightworld, present on earth as running water (*Yardna*=Jordan). At the end of earthly life, the “vertical” movement toward the Lightworld takes place. That the baptism of the rba is *d-abahatan*, equates it with the masiqta of the same name. A clue here is the verb used both for baptism and masiqta, the root SQL,¹¹³ “to raise up,” “go up,” “ascend.” Like baptism and masiqta, the entire tarmida ritual is an ascension, an upward movement. Through this ritual, too, the laufa, the connection between living and departed Mandaeans is again reinforced and will, through the work of the new priest, continue to be upheld.

University of North Carolina
at Greensboro, NC 27412

JORUNN J. BUCKLEY

Appendix: Sequence of the Tarmida Ritual

(starting at CGS, p. 4; numbers refer to CP prayers; lines indicate new ritual segment)

1.	36-45, pihta 46-47, mambuha 59-60 72, with zharia mqaimitun, sixty-one times 80, Šal Šulta kušta	2.	80, Šal Šulta 58 66 (or 99) 168-169 71, with d-abahatan 72, —	3.	invocation, crowning 1 } 3 } zharia 5 }
323		pihta and mambuha 59-60		15-17 25-28, hatamta	
1-103,		31			
at 73: gold ring		8, incense		hamra ritual starts	
324-326		72		180 (priests)	
myrtle smelling ritual			mqaimitun, sixty-one times	181-187 ("give him to drink")	
327			80, Šal Šulta	188-199	
twining of wreaths			kušta with šganda		
de-consecration			63, masiqta oil	305-311, rba } prayers uttered	
re-consecration			178	312-318, priests } alternately	
3			new ritual dress	319, rba and priests	
5				320, rba	
				321, priests	
19, baptism wreath				"health and purity"	
baptism of šulia starts				Asut Malka prayer	
79				106, rahmia start	
81				107-109	
				1-5	

Appendix: Sequence of the Tarmida Ritual (continued)

(starting at CGS, p. 4; numbers refer to CP prayers; lines indicate new ritual segment)

1	šualia enters škinta	8, incense
3	“Asuta!”,	34 —
5	series of greetings	113, Sunday
19	205	114-117
32, stole	Ktazil Bhira Dakia series	77
8, incense	233-253	Asut Malka prayer
34, —	330, banner hymn	9
57, —	347, —	35 —
75, with zharia	kiss	
76-77		
35		
1-18		
4.		
15-17		
25-28		
?		
65, without d-abahatan		
119-122		
165-167		
169		
71, without d-abahatan		
72, with d-abahatan		
36-45		
59-60		
72		
masiqta preparation,		
laufa in rba's name		
1, with zharia for		
novice and rba		
32 etc., at:		

Appendix: Sequence of the Tarmida Ritual (continued)

(starting at CGS, p. 4; numbers refer to CP prayers; lines indicate new ritual segment)

mqaimitun	54, without q-abahatan,
80, Sal Šulta	58, _____
kušta with rba	but zhara for rba
2	second treatment, using
4 } širiatā	six fatiria, at:
6 }	35, q-abahatan omitted,
rahmia _____	but zhara included
zidqa brikha	49, signings, except for
rahmia	the sixth
novice baptises rba,	54, with q-abahatan
without zharia	65, with zharia
81	91-99
35	70
18	100
168-169 } no zharia	71
1	170
3	80, Šal Šulta
5	kušta
19	101-103
ša-ceremony	63
?	3
348-350	35, in novice's name
hatamta	58
end of zidqa brikha	71, with q-abahatan
	72, _____

¹ E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, Leiden: Brill, 1962 (reprint of 1937 ed.) (hereafter cited as *MII*), p. 146-168.

² E. S. Drower, *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans*, Leiden: Brill, 1959 (hereafter cited as *CP*) and *The Coronation of the Great Šišlām. Being a Description of the Rite of the Coronation of a Mandaean Priest According to the Ancient Canon*, Leiden: Brill, 1962 (hereafter cited as *CGŠ*). In this study, I am limiting myself to these texts, and do not take into account other Mandaean material on the tarmida initiation, as found, for instance, in E. S. Drower, *The Thousand and Twelve Questions (Alf Trisar Šušalia)*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, Veröff. d. Inst. für Orientforschung 32, 1960. E. Segelberg's "Tráṣa d-tāga d-Sišlām Rabbā. Studies in the rite called the Coronation of Sišlām Rabbā," in R. Macuch, ed., *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer: Studia Mandaica I*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976 (171-244), is mainly concerned with the provenance (Jewish or Christian) of the ritual for the tarmida.

³ See E. S. Drower, *The Secret Adam*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1960, p. 13.

⁴ See *MII* p. 146-147.

⁵ Ibid., p. 135-137.

⁶ Ibid., p. 166-167.

⁷ According to *MII*, p. 148-149, the inspection and the washing of the postulant's feet occur in conjunction; in *CGŠ*, p. 3, the inspection belongs at this stage, but the footwashing comes later (p. 11).

⁸ *CGŠ*, p. 1.

⁹ In *MII* p. 150, Drower says that all the celebrants do this.

¹⁰ For the procedure of making the taga, see *MII*, p. 150-152.

¹¹ Drower, *The Secret Adam*, p. 61.

¹² The figure from *MII* p. 150 is given below. *Kinta* is misspelled in *MII* p. 150-151 (for correction, see E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1963 (hereafter cited as *MD*), 214 B.

¹³ According to *CGŠ* p. 3, he is also tested in the *masiqta*, the "raising-up," the so-called "death-mass" liturgy and in other sets of prayers found in *CP*. *CP* only includes about one third of the Mandaean prayers (*CP*, Introduction, p. VII).

¹⁴ See note 8, above. The technical term, *šumia* 'šartia, is the same for both "skies."

¹⁵ *CGŠ* p. 5. These laymen have earlier furnished the novice with a piece of gold and one of silver to put on his stole, his *nasīfa* (However, in *CGŠ*, Drower translates "arm," not "stole"). See also *MII*, p. 150.

¹⁶ See e.g. *MII*, p. 107.

¹⁷ Note the Šišlām's exhortation in *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*, "Yet, should it happen that at a marriage, a *masiqta*, or a baptism there are no laymen (*Mandaia*) as witnesses, then this rite is unacceptable to the House of Life. For priest and layman are part of one another, component parts of which the one (acteth as) witness to the other and holdeth up the hand of the other at his rites." (p. 257-258 [206]).

¹⁸ *CGŠ* p. 5.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Drower incorrectly writes the plural of 'utra as 'uthras, instead of 'utria.

²¹ In the references to *CP*, the number of the hymn is given, not the page-number in *CP*, unless otherwise indicated.

²² See the comments to these hymns, *CP* p. 228-229.

²³ *CGŠ* p. 7.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 7-8.

²⁵ See *MD* 162 B.

²⁶ Jordan (*yardna*) is the Lightworld river prototype. It signifies any running, fresh water used for baptism. For the baptism ritual, see *MII* p. 100-123; the liturgy is in *CP*, p. 1-32.

²⁷ The prayer here is *CP* 18, not *CP* 44, as Drower thinks, *CGS* p. 9.

²⁸ *CGS* p. 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 10.

³⁰ "Our fathers" (*abahatan*) also means "our forefathers" and "our parents."

³¹ The prayer is not *CP* 170, as Drower has it (*CGS* p. 10). In *CP* 170, called "the longer Tab ṭaba lṭabia" ("the longer Good is the good for the good"), the entire Mandaean priest genealogy is listed. Drower erroneously states that *CP* 72 carries the title "Tab ṭaba lṭabia of Šum (Shem) son of Noah," (*CP* p. 151, note 1), but it is *CP* 71 that has this name; see *CP*, p. 60 and *CGS* p. 10. Here I wish to correct a mistake I made in my study "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," *Numen* 28, 2, 1981 (138-163): the insertion into *CP* 49 is not *CP* 170, as I say on p. 146, 152, and 156, but the formula *d-abahatan*.

³² *CP* p. 61 (my emphasis). Note that "Mandaens," i.e. lay-people, are included in the clause.

³³ *CGS* p. 10

³⁴ See above, p. 195.

³⁵ For such a warning, see *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*, p. 115 (12).

³⁶ See *MD* 463 B, and E. Segelberg, *Maṣbūtā. Studies in the Ritual of the Mandaean Baptism*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958, p. 20-21.

³⁷ *CGS* p. 11.

³⁸ *CP*. p. 1.

³⁹ See *CGS* p. 11 and *MII* p. 148. In *MII*, p. 149, Drower mentions this ritual out of sequence when compared to *CGS*. (K. Rudolph follows Drower, see his, *Die Mandäer I: Der Kult*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1961, p. 302).

⁴⁰ *CP*. p. 239.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 186-211.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 211. *CP* carries a warning here against reciting the last four of these hymns (*CP* 250-253) for anyone but a priest, "an owner of a crown."

⁴³ *CGS*, p. 12.

⁴⁴ "Manda," which is personified, means "knowledge."

⁴⁵ The sequence of the prayers before the hatamta is: *CP* 3, 5, 15-17. The hatamta are *CP* 25-28 (see *CP*, p. 24); for the root HTM, see *MD* 154 B-155A.

⁴⁶ Compare with the marriage ceremony, *MII*, p. 70 and with the masiqta (see "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 141-147).

⁴⁷ *CP* p. 162-166.

⁴⁸ See p. 198, above.

⁴⁹ See *MD* 298 A.

⁵⁰ *CP* p. 166-171. Šarhat appears in several places in M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915 (repr. 1966). Here, p. 6, note 2, Šarhat is connected to grapes.

⁵¹ The sequence runs from *CP* p. 220-225; see p. 223 for explanatory note. The number of each set of hymns is seven, possibly related to the previous seven drinks of hamra.

⁵² The novice has already obtained this ring, *CGS*, p. 5.

⁵³ See *MII*, p. 31, 34-35 and *CP* p. 225.

⁵⁴ *CGS* p. 19.

⁵⁵ See *MII* p. 151-152.

⁵⁶ See note 12, above, for kinta.

⁵⁷ See *MD* 28 B. The prayer is given in *MII* p. 245, translation p. 246-247. It is not in *CP*.

⁵⁸ *CP* 107-108 (*CP* 108 and 109 are identical).

⁵⁹ Or: at the end of the sequence *CP* 1-5; the text is unclear.

⁶⁰ See note 45, above. Here, *CP* 9 and 35 seem to come in reversed order.

⁶¹ *CGS* p. 21-22. Drower's inquiring footnote 1, p. 22 is thus misguided.

⁶² See *CP* p. 52.

⁶³ See "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 141 f.

⁶⁴ *CGS*, p. 22. As before (*CGS* p. 10, see note 31 above), Drower refers to *CP* 170, saying now that this prayer is excluded from *CP* 71, *but* it is the *d-abahatan* clause, not the prayer *CP* 170, that is omitted.

⁶⁵ See p. 198, above.

⁶⁶ *CGS*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ These are *CP* 2, 4, and 6. See *MD* 463 B and Segelberg, p. 20-21. (Drower's comment, *CP* p. 3 and 4, to the prayers *CP* 2 and 4, are obscuring, for she calls *CP* 2 an "opening" and *CP* 4 a "dedicatory" prayer).

⁶⁸ *MII* p. 155; for the "secret words," see *CGS* XIV-XVII.

⁶⁹ *CGS* p. 23.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Drower mistakes *CP* 44 for *CP* 18, see note 27, above.

⁷¹ *CGS* p. 23.

⁷² *Ibid.*, note 5.

⁷³ See p. 201 above and note 63, above. In my view, *MD* 172 B gives a skewed interpretation of the Tabahata masiqta, "a masiqta celebrated for the Cosmic Father and Mother in the name of a man and a woman at *Panja*." See "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 149 f, and my conclusion (p. 156): the Tabahata masiqta makes up for all masqata performed during the previous year, for it contains the third part, in addition to the two regularly performed parts, thus making it "of the Parents." (See also p. 15, below).

⁷⁴ See *CGS* p. 36, and p. 208, below, for the second baptism of the rba.

⁷⁵ *MII* p. 67 and *CGS* p. 24, note 1.

⁷⁶ In *CGS* p. 25, note 1, Drower says that a priest, not an acolyte, prays here. This is contradicted by the text and by the instruction at the end of *CP* 348, *CP*. p. 241.

⁷⁷ *CGS* p. 25.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ See p. 13, note 71, above.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *MII* p. 155-156.

⁸² *CGS* p. 25. See also "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 149, with footnotes 88 and 89.

⁸³ *CP* p. 51.

⁸⁴ This is described in *MII* p. 156-165.

⁸⁵ "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta." In the prayer sequence given there, p. 151, I have erroneously left out *CP* 32, which starts the ritual.

⁸⁶ See p. 202, above.

⁸⁷ But not to Drower's description in *MII* p. 185-190.

⁸⁸ "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 140, 146.

⁸⁹ *MII* p. 158.

⁹⁰ *CGS* p. 26.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 26-27. Drower has a parenthesis here that muddles the meaning: the point is precisely that the masiqta is read "for the soul of N.," that is, for the rba.

⁹² The full sequence is given in "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 151-152.

⁹³ *CGS* p. 30.

⁹⁴ *Ibid* p. 31 and *CP* p. 36.

⁹⁵ "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 148 and 152.

⁹⁶ See *CGS* p. 32. The entire formula is on p. 24.

⁹⁷ See *ibid.* p. 30 and, for an explanation of *CP* 54, *CP* p. 49.

⁹⁸ *CGS* p. 34.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* and *CP* p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ See "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta," p. 152.

¹⁰¹ I deduce this because of the gesture, the hand on the head.

¹⁰² *CGS* p. 35.

¹⁰³ See note 73, above.

¹⁰⁴ *CGS* p. 4 and 5 (see note 16, above).

¹⁰⁵ See *CGS* p. 36, note 5.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ In relation to the 'ndruna, the škinta is male; in relation to the sixty days of separation, female.

¹⁰⁸ See note 17, above.

¹⁰⁹ *MII*, p. 215; Segelberg, p. 19-21.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix, p. 211-213, column 2, 4, and 5.

¹¹¹ See note 30, above.

¹¹² *CGS*, p. 23.

¹¹³ *MD* 332 A; see Segelberg, p. 66-67, p. 89-91.

THREE TRANSFORMATIONS IN JUDAISM: SCRIPTURE, HISTORY, AND REDEMPTION*

MICHAEL E. STONE

The purpose of the present paper is to study certain central lines of development of Jewish religious thought and the related transformation of Jewish society during the period of the Second Temple. The endeavour, because of its particular character, is primarily concerned with patterns of thought and their social correlatives. We do not intend to write a technical sociological essay, to compose a history of Judaism at that time, or to explore the chief cultural, political or other contacts between Judaism and Hellenism or others of the surrounding cultures. These are weighty matters indeed and here they will be dealt with as they impinge upon our main theme, but they are not of its essence. Here we define our subject chiefly in relationship and contrast to the situation of Judaism in the period of the First Temple.

The specific subjects to which this paper will be devoted are three changes. They are intertwined and related one to the other, but are each separate. The first of them is the change from oral tradition to written tradition and the shift of attitude towards written tradition which became regarded as sacred scripture. This transformation had manifold influences on the religious and social life of the Jews throughout the period of the Second Temple and thenceforth. The second change with which we will be concerned is one in the character of thought from "historical" to "meta-historical" categories and to a "cosmic" view of the world and nature. This brought in its train a corresponding transformation of historiosophy and of eschatology. The third central change to which we shall devote our attention flows from the above. It is the change in the understanding of the human quandary which proceeds from the innovations in the view of time and place that we have indicated. The shift in the perception of the human predicament that issues from these innovations leads to a different conception of redemption and of eschatology.

From Oral Tradition to Written and Sacred Scripture

Following the events of the Babylonian exile (587-6), if indeed not somewhat earlier in its preparatory stages, the national tradition of ancient Israel entered into the definite stage of written record in a standard form. Although the publication of the “Book of the Law” under Josiah had been a stage on this development, it was the repromulgation of the Torah under Ezra that concretized this development, whatever it was that Ezra read to the people (Neh 9). This written tradition consisted first and foremost of the Pentateuch. It was followed by the emergence of the definitive collection of the prophets and only at the end of the Second Temple period by the “Writings”. It is certain that the Pentateuch had reached its present form by the time of the Babylonian exile, the prophetic corpus by about 200 B.C.E. at the latest, while the process of the assembly and collection of the “Writings” continued with variations throughout the period. That a tradition becomes written does not mean that the written form immediately displaces the oral as authoritative. However, the written biblical books apparently did soon become regarded as embodying the true divine revelation, as being the very font of religious authority, and this development happened close to the “publication” of the collections of biblical writings.

In biblical times, it seems, the weight of teaching and administration of divine law had been largely the task of the priests.¹ They held this position because of their sacerdotal role and the status accorded to them flowing from their cultic privileges. There are numerous references to this: in a schematic form it may be observed in the Blessing of Moses in Deut 32:10 and this old idea is still present in Sir 45:17, cf. Mal 2:7. When religious authority came to be embodied in a given collection of books, however, the way was opened for a change in the way it was understood and exercised.² Such a change is already reflected in the references to Ezra as, “scribe skilled in the Law of Moses” and as “the priest, the scribe, learned in matters of the commandments of the Lord and his statutes for Israel” (Ezra 7:7, 11). The title “scribe” was known, of course, in ancient Israel (see e.g. 2 Sam 8:17, 2 Ki 18:18, 22:3, etc.). Scribes were court or royal officials, and this is the most fre-

quent context of the term.³ What is new in the Book of Ezra is the application of the distinct title “scribe” to the Torah. This implies that the written document had become the subject matter of a particular learned expertise which qualified the person who exercised it for the title “scribe”.⁴

The matter was more complex. The rulers of Judea from the time of the return on were the High Priests. The priestly aristocracy combined religious authority with political power. The inauguration of the Hasmonean monarchy was preceded by the Hasmonean Jonathan taking over the high-priestly office.⁵ Yet the writing down of sacred scripture set in movement processes which combined with political events to undermine the high-priestly authority.⁶

On the one hand, Persian imperial policy may have played a considerable role in the overall development by establishing the Torah’s authority with official backing.⁷ On the other, the very fact that the divine law was written created the necessity to base in it by a process of exegesis, the whole corpus of unwritten law which it, needs be, engendered. Julius Stone would maintain that some such process was inherent in the dynamics of the development of legal systems.⁸ He was aptly commented:

The presence of the written law, and the divine origin maintained for it, meant that the unwritten law came into the charge of the exegetes,... For the unwritten law could not be at large, but must respect every revealed precept and word.⁹

Unfortunately, this process in the development of Jewish law can only be described in general terms, utilizing insights gained from legal historians. Its early stages cannot be documented in any detail for the lack of evidence and only by the Rabbinic age can it be clearly seen in the texts. The Sages claimed that their legal and exegorical traditions were of Sinaitic origin, thus drawing their authority from the Mosaic revelation. Their particular view was that divine authority was expressed in the reasoning of the wise about that written revelation.¹⁰

Much more readily available for our study, however, are the social changes correlative with the development of the legal system. Competition developed in society for the role of true exponent of sacred documents. This was, after all, also a competition for power in society. In the course of the Second Temple Period, different

groups arose within the Jewish religious spectrum that based themselves on particular claims to the unique, true interpretation of the sacred writings. The actual techniques of interpretation varied.

This is well illustrated when Josephus (or his source), speaking of the Pharisees and Sadducees, says:

The Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducean group who hold that only those regulations should be considered valid which were written down (in Scripture) (*Antiquities* 13:397).¹¹

The point of difference is over customs not written down in the “Laws of Moses”.¹² Yet, elsewhere Josephus speaks of “the Pharisees, who are considered the most accurate interpreters of the Law” (*War* 2:162). This sounds very much like a dispute over precisely the sort of approach to exegetical and legal authority later maintained by the Sages.¹³

It is interesting to observe that in one text Josephus mentions the Pharisees as introducing traditional practices into the observance of the “Laws”, while in the other he holds them to be its greatest exeges. And, indeed, both points are correct. The argument is over proper and true exegesis and who possesses it.

A similar rivalry over the right to exegete scripture correctly may be observed in the Nahum Commentary from Qumran where Pharisaic authority is clearly rejected. The Pharisees are described as “seekers after smooth things” (or “smooth exeges”) who “in the latter days, will walk in lies and fraud.” They are attributed “false teaching, lying tongue, guileful lips” (4 QpNahum cols 1-2). In other and varied works, stemming from diverse circles in this age, there are revealing accusations levelled against opponents that they pervert the law or the divine regulations (see, e.g. *1 Enoch* 99:2 and contrast 99:10, *Jubilees* 6:33-38 etc.). In all these instances the struggle over correct understanding of scripture is a struggle over authority.

If the Torah is a written document that is exegeted by expert groups of the learned and not by the traditional priestly class, then the power and authority that stem from the Torah devolve from the priests to the learned.¹⁴ That power and authority were very important indeed, as has been pointed out above. As long as rivalry ex-

isted between the groups in society, the development of a single new elite which replaced the priests is not perceived; there were instead rival elites vying for primacy. The competition between them, as has been noted, although formulated in terms of the right of exegesis, reflects a struggle for power and influence. As the knowledge of and expertise in the Torah came to replace the priestly sacrosanctity, the way into the new elites was paved by learning and the exercise of human faculties and was not dependent on descent, family origins or the like.

This change is dramatically completed after the destruction of the Temple, when the priests no longer have any role to play except for some vestigial cultic privileges. The development of new elites which replaced the priests has here come to its full conclusion. In legal and exegetical matters, and in the premier role that went with them in Jewish society of the day, the priests were completely supplanted by the exegetes.¹⁵

It is not clear to what extent the actual administration of justice in Jewish society in the period of the Second Temple was rooted in scripture and its interpretation.¹⁶ This certainly was the ideal aspired to.

The writing down of the Torah and its becoming the object of learned exegesis also produced a retrospective view of religious authority. The Torah, the normative embodiment of the relationship between Israel and God and of the transmundane ideal towards which Israel aspired, had been revealed in the past. The line of the prophets who had provided an on-going channel for transmission of divine commands and of the summons to divine norms ceased.¹⁷ They were replaced by various groups including the “truly inspired exegetes.” The Habbakuk Commentary from Qumran says that the Righteous Teacher knew the meanings that even the prophets themselves did not know when they spoke their words. Somewhat later, but apparently reflecting earlier views, the Sages claim that their exegesis, the Oral Law, was also given to Moses on Sinai.¹⁸ By the use of pseudepigraphical modes, the authors of the apocalypses drew authority from biblical worthies and antediluvian sages. They also, e.g. in 4 Ezra 14, talk of a parallel or complementary tradition of revelation to that of written scripture, thus resembling the Pharisees and the Sages (see also *Jubilees* 1).

All of these developments signify a change in the centre of power which was entrusted with the task of preserving, teaching, and interpreting the divine norms to which the people were to aspire. It became largely embodied in a number of rival learned elites which claimed to draw their authority from the same source as the scripture it was their concern to exegete.¹⁹

Historical Account becomes Historiosophic System

In this and the next section we shall describe developments chiefly in the realm of religious and intellectual history. It is reasonable to assume that these developments are causally related to developments in social, political and economic history. The task of outlining these relationships is, however, well-nigh impossible, because of the nature of the evidence at our disposal.²⁰ The types of interrelationship between social and economic development and movements in the history of ideas outlined in developments of the “Axial Age” theories, serve however to highlight the importance of understanding the processes in the history of ideas even at rather abstract levels.²¹ Encouraged by this, we venture to present our analysis, conscious that it falls between the two stools of history and sociology, but hoping that it can contribute some insights and raise some questions.

The hope for a future restoration is found in the literature of the First Temple period, with its most prominent but certainly not its only expression, in the prophetic writings. It was expected to take place in the course of historical events as they developed and sometimes it was described in ideal terms. Redemption does not usually seem to have been redemption of the cosmos, although there are certainly hints in this direction.²² This is true even of Deutero-Isaiah, who daringly employs mythical categories to describe historical events. So he talks of the return from the Babylonian exile in the language of creation and exodus putting that historical event into primordial redemptive categories.²³ Even then, the course of history in which redemption takes place does not seem to refer to an end of history. Cross has observed that “history” in the biblical sense is not history as the historians would have it, for God is a protagonist and there is a mythical substratum which pro-

duces what he dubs “epic.”²⁴ It is the balance between the mythical and the historical elements that changes in the Second Temple period (see further below).

There are some schematizations in biblical chronology, particularly in sources deriving from the priestly milieu.²⁵ Nonetheless, there were no presentations of history as a whole, from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit*. God was conceived of in such thought as acting in the arena of the ongoing events of the historical process in their diversity,²⁶ and a very serious attempt was made to understand his action in that historical sequence. Nonetheless, the process as a whole, its beginning, middle, and end, was not itself the object of contemplation.

In the period of the Second Temple a greater intellectual sophistication emerged and people viewed the historical process at a higher level of abstraction. It was seen with the eagle’s eye, in its completeness, *sub specie aeternitatis*. God was removed, to a considerable extent, from the actual progression of historical events, although he was thought to control history as a whole. The biblical conception of God’s action was stubbornly retained, but the meaning of that action and of history in which that action was discerned was sought in encompassing patterns leading from *Urzeit* through history, to *Endzeit*.²⁷

This change in conceptualization of the historical process goes hand in hand with the development of a meta-historical eschatology. That development has been attributed by some to the influence of Iranian thought.²⁸ Others have seen it as a development of some potentialities in biblical thought, brought about by the dire political and social conditions prevailing among the Jews in the early part of the Second Temple period. These made the idea of restoration in the course of the ordinary events of history seem so implausible that it was pushed to the end of history and beyond it.²⁹

This is very likely true as far as it goes. However, it does not exhaust, we submit, the reasons for the shift of the expected future redemption from history to meta-history. This shift can also be seen as part of the overall development of the concept of history and the way it was described and presented. The development of the idea of history we have outlined made it possible to embrace it all in the one conceptual structure. This became a crucial factor in the

emergence of the idea of redemption at the eschaton, at the end of history or superseding it. Thus this issue enfolds three interrelated developments—historical account becomes historiosophical system; eschatology becomes meta-historical; and following these, redemption becomes cosmic.

Redemption and the Remythologization of the World

One way of describing redemption is to search to characterize the quandary or condition from which redemption is sought. The nature of redemption is a correlative of the nature of the quandary. The terms in which the quandary is conceived betray the view of the world and of God and man that is inherent. The concept of God developed in ancient Israel had moved him outside nature, so that he became viewed as lord of nature and history both. His role in the cosmos was described in historical terms. History, even in the special Israelite sense, only started outside Eden.

In the Second Temple period, God is further removed from the ordinary world and course of events. He becomes more transcendent and his function is not discerned in the “little happenings” of history, but in its grand, overall pattern and its crucial, pivotal events.³⁰ These came under scrutiny with the change of the view of history already referred to.

Speaking of the development of mediaeval art in the West, Henri Focillon made a statement that is directly applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to our present analysis.

Deeply immersed in the historical life of its period, it (i.e. art) was subject to the differential effects of time and place. Its development was not a consistent growth with successive stages linked by transitions in which the past made way smoothly for the future. Styles do not succeed each other like dynasties, by the death or expulsion of the last male heir. On the contrary, a country may sometimes contain a number of different artistic currents pursuing their several courses, with greater or less vitality, side by side.³¹

So, when we make statements about “developments” or “innovations” or the like, we cannot mean that with the emergence of each new stage all vestiges of the past vanish and no intimations of the still unborn future can yet be discerned. However, since our analysis is schematic in character, it must necessarily obscure historical complexities. So it is with observations about the growing

transcendence of God. In prayer and devotional texts God is addressed intimately and personally, but in many other documents we find an extolling of his power and glory, his transcendent enthronement. It is not a philosophical position, concerned about how to make predicative statements about God, nor is it a gnostic stance holding the utter otherness and unknowability of Deity. Instead he is praised, extolled and glorified. This tendency combined with the view of history that prevailed to lead to a certain disengagement of God from the daily course of events.

It has been suggested that a central factor causing change in a number of societies in the last millennium B.C.E., including Jewish society, was the emergence of the idea of the “trans-mundane”,³² a source of power and authority outside society and even outside the world. This provided a pivotal point and source of authority beyond the ordinary human and historical realm. Individuals and groups claiming access to that authority entered into conflict with established social elites. Moreover, the norms established under the aegis of this transmundane authority, since they were in part unattainable, created fruitful tensions in society, in the very drive and yearning to attain them.³³

What is being described in the present paper is not the initial impact of the notion of the transmundane on the nomadic society of the Israelites in ancient times. It is a number of developments that flowed from the processes set in motion by this impact. The writing of the Torah and the growth of elites based on the authority of exegesis is one.

In this context, the change in the view of God is very notable. Historical developments that are not altogether clear, as has been noted, augmented the sense of distance of the deity. The need to bridge the gap to the divine, the drive towards the transcendent, became particularly acute because of the emphasis laid upon the transcendent character of God. The gap became that much more difficult to span. Moreover, the Torah was now a written document and that document and its exegesis both drew their authority from the divine realm. They embodied the goals towards which the individual and the society strove and the norms by which they assessed themselves. Yet the achievement of those goals and of the vision of “the splendour of the glory of the Most High” (4 Ezra 7:42)

by which truth will be shown forth could only finally be achieved outside this mundane existence, whether it be in the eternal life of the individual or the meta-historical vindication of the people of Israel.³⁴ So there grew a consciousness of an eschatological situation which will be beyond time or beyond history.³⁵ In the primordial, mythical world of time, *Urzeit* is *Endzeit*, the end is the beginning, and the process of history is not the arena of action. In the Second Temple period, indeed, the *Endzeit* is parallel to and sometimes talked of in terms of the *Urzeit*, but they are not one and the same. And the events of history, perceived in their discerned, underlying structures, intervene and lead from beginning to end. It follows that this is not a complete return to the mythical view. The radical historicization presented in nearly all the biblical literature of the First Temple period is modified, but its basic insights are preserved. Mythical dimensions are restored or added, but the result is something new—a different balance of the elements. This we have called remythologization.

In the thought of the Second Temple period, parallel to the development of the concepts of history and meta-history, the spatial or local dimension of the world was also transcended. There was a remythologization of cosmology as well as of history. In the mythological view there are this-worldly and supramundane actors, human action corresponds to or reflects that of the actors of the supra-lunar sphere. With the radical differentiation between God and all other beings that is part of the initial insight of Judaism, the supramundane action is reserved for God alone. All other action is of this world. As history is the temporal arena of action, so this world is its spatial arena.³⁶

In the Second Temple period, the supramundane world reasserts itself. There are heavenly actors as well as human, and human action is related to or correlated with that of the heavenly ones. Thus in Daniel, e.g. 10:13, patron angels fight the wars of the nations; in the Dead Sea War Scroll not only men but angelic powers too will participate in the eschatological battle (1QM 12-13); demons, angels, spirits, visions of the heavenly spheres, speculation about their structure and denizens—these and a dozen other features can be named which flow from this change.³⁷

Yet, as with time so also with place, the Second Temple period

did not revert fully to the mythical view of the world. It exhibits a resurgence of many elements that were older, but these are modified and transmuted by the perceptions achieved in earlier Israelite religion. There is no reversion to polytheism, even of the high-god type such as existed in Canaan. Nor are the monistic views of Hellenistic-Roman paganism accepted. The denizens of the upper world affect the life of men and women and the process of history (see, e.g. *1 Enoch* 89:59-70). They even, in some formulations, rule this world, but always do so subject to the one supreme Deity. This statement is made neither from a sense of, or out of, a need for apologetics; it is simply the case.³⁸ There is, then, a real change in attitudes to the structure of the cosmos and it is the dual transformation of the perceptions of time and space that may be called the remythologization of Judaism.³⁹

An additional factor is at work in this complex transformation. A number of texts reflecting certain trends of thought hymn a figure of Wisdom, a sort of hypostasis or personification of divine wisdom. In the background of this figure there may lie traces of a mythical female divinity, and its development is influenced by the hellenized Isis myth. Personified Wisdom was closely associated with God in creation, said to be his breath, or speech. She is enthroned in heaven.⁴⁰ Now, in a number of texts, e.g. Baruch 3:36-4:4 and ben Sira 24, this personified Wisdom is identified with the Torah. *Genesis Rabba* although its present form dates well after the period we are discussing, nonetheless shows the end of this process when it states that God "consulted the Torah and created the world"; to prove it the midrash cites Proverbs 8:22, which verse actually says that Wisdom was with God at the time of creation (1:1).⁴¹

Above we discussed the increasing role of Torah as a written document in the life of Judaism. Its authority derived from its divine authorship; the authority of the competing groups of its interpreters was the same. When the Torah became identified with personified Wisdom, it took on cosmic dimensions. Then that to which men aspired was not just the divine revelation at a given historical moment (as worked out, of course, by learned expositors)—it was the very constitution of the cosmos.

Thus, one aspect of the activity of Torah moved to the cosmic realm, and it was precisely this cosmic realm that had re-entered, in

a changed form, the conceptual universe of men and women in the period of the Second Temple. A particular constellation of ideas was therefore at play, for the Torah was both cosmic and at one and the same time open to human, learned exegesis. The cosmic aspect of Torah was integrated into the remythologization of time and place that happened then and its identification with Wisdom served as one of the instruments of the process. Concurrently, the move to sacred scripture and the exegetical/legal process that was stimulated by it served to re-emphasize the particularity of the revelation to Israel. These two somewhat opposed directions of development produced manifold ramifications as they were held in fruitful tension.

The stresses engendered in society by the attempt to close the gap separating the human and the transmundane became more severe. The yearning to breach the gap to the transcendent God is also the desire to live in consonance with the constitution of the universe and to make the life of man and the course of the cosmos whole. In these terms, therefore, the state from which redemption is desired may be called cosmic aporia.

It is by no chance, therefore, that in this age eschatological yearning became so intense and that the character of the expected redemption was, to use Scholem's terminology, "catastrophic".⁴² Its roots were ancient, but the great predominance of this most radical form of eschatology in the Second Temple period resulted not only from the complexion of historical events and historical oppression, but also from the cosmic measure of the gap between mankind and the divine.

Redemption in this period is still conceived of in terms of history and meta-history, of the future of Israel and of the world. However, the conceptual dynamics we have outlined bear within themselves possibilities of development of the idea of redemption in purely individual, non-temporal and non-spatial ways. Indeed, this happened later in some strains of Jewish mysticism and also in gnostic thought.

If cosmic aporia and cosmic redemption were the only aspect of Torah and Judaism, they might be expected to find little institutional expression. This was the case, indeed, with Jewish mysticism and gnosticism. It was, however, the particular genius of Judaism

that it never abandoned its specific peculiarities. The Torah is cosmic, but it is also the revelation to Israel. It is incumbent on Israel to observe it; the makers and administrators of its laws came to form an elite outside the institutional elites and in tension with them (as, differently, the prophets had been before them).⁴³ The “history” told by the Bible begins with creation; it is essentially, however, the epic story of the gracious acts of God towards Israel. Philo’s allegorization of biblical stories is the exception, not the rule, and even Philo held fast to the *speciales leges*. When the Qumran sect takes its own history as the only significant events, since the sect sees itself as the true Israel its history is the history of Israel. The ancient, fundamental truths of the self-understanding and national being of Israel were never lost.⁴⁴

The grounding of the Torah in the particularities of Jewish self-understanding is the sheet anchor keeping it from winging off into the wide spaces of cosmic, eschatological speculations. It always remains the regulation of the daily lives of men and women.⁴⁵

Here some central aspects of the change of Judaism in the Second Temple period may be seen. The historical and the mythical recombine in a new way in remythologization. History is perceived as a total process; the eschaton is at its end or beyond; God withdraws but does not disappear; the cosmos is constituted by the Torah which is at the same time the particular revelation to Israel.

Institutions change too: prophecy disappears and learned interpreters of the Torah arise. Alas, we know virtually nothing of the social roles of the authors of the apocalypses or of the wisdom writings.⁴⁶ There is sectarian rivalry combined with a gradual erosion of the position of the traditional elites—the priestly aristocracy and the baronial families. They are replaced by the exegetes and the learned who stand outside the traditional structures of society and are concerned to impose the divine norms of the Torah on them. This striking shift in social structure is intertwined with the profound changes in religious thought.

The different balances constituting the various strains of ideology at this time led to a variety of social/religious groupings differing in their character and attitudes. While in the early part of the period the groups seem to have co-existed,⁴⁷ the growing predominance of the Pharisees can be observed. They became institutionalized with

the change of circumstances that followed the failure of the revolt against the Romans in 68-70 C.E. That was still ahead, however, at the time about which we are talking.

The Hebrew University,
Jerusalem

MICHAEL E. STONE

*This paper is a differently developed form of material that emerged under the stimulus of the conference on Axial Age Civilizations, convened by S. N. Eisenstadt at the Werner Riener Stiftung in Bad Homberg on January 4-8, 1983. Appreciation is expressed to J. Tirner, D. Intran and M. Bregman who were kind enough to read the paper in draft and offer helpful comments.

¹ Compare, e.g. Deut 32:10. For our argument it is not very relevant whether these were Aaronid or Levitical priests. On the latter, see G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (Studies in Biblical Theology, 9; London: S.C.M., 1953) 60 ff. and many other sources.

² Recently some scholars, notably J. A. Sanders, have argued that the oral traditions too were canonical and normative. It is most likely so, if the term canonical is used in a very special way. Used of written scriptures, however, it means a fixed corpus of writings considered inspired. This is significant because they are books—limited, fixed, crystallized, open to very complex techniques of exegesis and study. Sander's views may be found in *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972). The questions of written and oral literature and the differences between them have been extensively analyzed and need not be discussed here.

³ On scribes in ancient Israel, see the indicative article in *IDB* 4. 246; a brief survey of pre-Israelite Near Eastern wisdom may be found in Suppl *IDB* 949-952. Both the above contain bibliography.

⁴ The title "scribe" is applied to those learned in the Torah, from the time of Ezra on. The history of the term is complex; note, however, ben Sira's use of it to designate the wisdom teacher in 38:24. Much has been written on the term scribe which is used in the New Testament together with "Pharisee" and in other contexts in Second Temple period Judaism. Moreover, it seems to have been a designation used by the Rabbis for early representatives of their tradition, cf. *Abot* 6:9. Indicative introductions to the problem may be found in *IDB* 4.246-248 and *TWNT* 1.740-742. See note 14 below.

⁵ His appointment is described in 1 Macc 10:19-21. On this see E. Schuerer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* rev. G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh: Clark, 1973) 1.178 and 192-195.

⁶ The general process of the movement of power from the priestly to other classes and groups is well known. See e.g. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13. 298, 18.12-15, cf. 4QpNahum 3:6-7, which sources imply growth in power of the Pharisees. See further G. W. E. Nickelsberg and M. E. Stone, *Faith and Piety in Early Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 11-14. The modern debate on the origins and character of the Pharisees is quite considerable and the views differ very notably. Compare for example J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1971) and the succinct statement of his views in *From Politics to Piety* (New York: 1979) with the views of E. Rivkin, *The Hidden Revolution* (Nashville: 1978). On the term see most recently A. I. Baumgarten, "The Name

of the Pharisees," *JBL* 102 (1983) 411-428. We do not wish to engage in this discussion here, for the focus of our paper is different.

⁷ See E. J. Bickermann, "The Historical Foundations of Post-biblical Judaism," *The Jews: Their History* ed. L. Finkelstein (4ed; New York: Schocken, 1972) 75. He discusses the role Persian imperial policy may have played in establishing the Torah's authority at the time of the Restoration. See also R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland & New York: World, 1963) 100.

⁸ See, e.g., Julius Stone, *Human Law and Human Justice* (Sydney: Maitland, 1965) 22-29. Contrast his characterization of the French Code and its development in *Legal Systems and Lawyers' Reasonings* (Sydney: Maitland, 1964) 212-221. G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1971) 286-7 describes this process from the perspective of a historian of religion rather than of law.

⁹ *Human Law and Human Justice* 34. This formulation differs somewhat from that of Ch. Perelman, "Legal Ontology and Legal Reasoning," *Legal Change: Essays in Honour of Julius Stone* ed. A. R. Blackshield (Sydney: Butterworths, 1983) 1-9. Emphasizing the Jewish focus on Moses as sole legislator, Perelman investigates its impact on the forms of reasoning used by "legal theorists and lawyers" to adjust that system to the needs of adjudication. His observations are, as usual, very apposite but he does not enter into the question, perhaps beyond his subject, of who it is that "performs the work of commentators and judicial decisions." Yet it is precisely in the emergence of these commentators, indeed in the competition for this role, that much of the dynamic of Judaism of the Second Temple period can be understood.

¹⁰ See the story of Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua referred to in note 13 below. Compare also *Deut Rabba* 8:6(7).

¹¹ See M. Smith, "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," *Israel: Its Role in Civilization* ed. M. Davis (New York: 1956) 67-81 who maintains that the Pharisees were a very small group. See also the comments in Schuerer-Vermes-Millar, *History* 2.395-397.

¹² The relationship between the Sadducees and the priestly aristocracy seems to be beyond doubt. The Sadducean claim to be interpreting Scripture directly was one possible strategy in the intergroup rivalry over authority. In fact, the dynamics of legal development meant that the Sadducees also had traditional interpretation. See the note by L. H. Feldmann to Josephus, *Antiquities* 18:16 who comments: "The Sadducees . . . had their own traditions, as we can see from such passages as *makkot* 1.6." (Josephus [Loeb Classical Library; London and Cambridge, MA: 1965] 9.14). He adds that these were *gezerot* (i.e. priestly decrees) and not Oral Law. From the perspective of our note here, of course, the distinction is immaterial.

¹³ This view does not need documentation here. J. Stone, *Human Law and Human Justice* 27 refers to the various interpretation of the story of Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua (occurring in many sources), which turns on this point. See also H. Cohn, "Prolegomena to the Theory and History of Jewish Law," *Essays in Jurisprudence in Honour of Roscoe Pound* (American Society of Legal History, 1962) 480-5; Perelman, "Legal Ontology." The same story is quoted *in extenso* with comments from a different perspective by Scholem, *Messianic Idea* 291-292. In a letter of August 4, 1982, Julius Stone comments on this "deep paradox that the Hebrew transcendent vision of divine law did not (unlike the Greek) have its reflection in human legal ordering—in either a 'natural law' or a 'positive law', and that this very fact forced its human addressees (especially the learned) into the role of *human* 'developers' of the transcendent *divine* law." The perspective expressed in the

preceding paragraphs is rather different from that of the interesting views of J. Blenkinsopp, "Interpretation and the Tendency to Sectarianism: An Aspect of Second Temple History," *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* vol. 2, edd. E. P. Sanders with A. I. Baumgarten and A. Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 1-26. It would be of great interest to see his remarks on exegesis and sectarianism expanded further.

¹⁴ The issue of the "scribes" is complex and has been left apart here except for our brief comments in notes 3 and 4 above; see for some views and bibliography J. Blenkinsopp, *ibid.*

¹⁵ This is then end of the process referred to above, see note 6.

¹⁶ Compare the Story of Susanna.

¹⁷ The social institution of prophecy ceased in the fourth century BCE as far as the biblical record has it. The Rabbis ascribe the cessation of prophecy to the same period, see *bSanh* 11a and parallels, *bYoma* 9b, *bSota* 48b and *tSota* 11:2.

¹⁸ The matter is, of course, very much more complex. For a sensitive analysis of central aspects of it see Scholem, *Messianic Idea* 282-303. Indeed, the Sages seem to take this view to a great extreme as is exemplified by the legend in *bMenabot* 29b that relates that Moses, miraculously seated in the back row of R. Aqiba's academy, could not understand Aqiba's teaching, until the latter, asked by one of his students, described that teaching as "halacha of Moses from Sinai", a formula which provides authority for legal findings that have no clear derivation from the biblical text. When Moses heard this "his mind was set at ease".

¹⁹ Central institutions of pre-exilic Jewish society had already been weakened or had disappeared by the time of the Commonwealth of the Restoration (sixth-fifth century B.C.E.); the Monarchy, by force of events; prophecy, for reasons not altogether clear. The role of the high-priesthood was enhanced. The Macedonian conquest brought far-reaching changes in its train, particularly to be detected in economic and social life; See Hengel, *Judaism* 1.32-55. Consequently, it is obviously naïve to claim that social changes took place solely as a result of the recording of scripture in writing. Yet it would also be wrong to underestimate the importance of this development which engendered changes in the legal system and its administrators and must have been a potent factor indeed.

²⁰ On the limits of evidence see M. E. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 72-73. *idem* "The Question of the Messiah in 4 Ezra," *Judaism and its Messiahs* ed. J. Neusner (forthcoming).

²¹ A great stimulus to this discussion was *Daedalus* for the spring of 1975 which was devoted to this issue. I have had particular benefit from S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Axial Age; Rise of Transcendental Visions; The Emergence of Intellectuals and of Clerics and the Structuring of World History* (Jerusalem: Kaplan School and Truman Institute, n.d.).

²² The "new heavens and new earth" of Isa 66:22 are a parade example.

²³ See F. M. Cross jr., *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1973) 107-8 for illuminating comments on Isa. 51:9-11.

²⁴ *Canaanite Myth* viii. Cross has further developed these ideas in his forthcoming paper "Epic Traditions of Early Israel: Epic Narrative and the Reconstruction of Early Israelite Institutions" which he kindly made available to the writer in manuscript. In it he makes important advances in our understanding of epic.

²⁵ Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature" *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Compendia Rer. Iud. ad N.T. 2.2.) (Assen & Philadelphia: 1984) 436-7; Cross, *Canaanite Myth* 295-6, 305.

²⁶ See G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (New York & Evanston: Harper and Row, 1962) 1.336-40, 348-50, 352. On pages 343-4 he investigates the impact of such views on the actual presentation of history.

²⁷ This matter is, in fact, much more complex than we have indicated in the text of this paper. The holistic view of history permitted and went hand in hand with both dualism and predestination. The patterning of historical ages evidenced the controlling hand behind them—this led to predestination, while God's removal to a second level of abstraction left this world and present history available to Satan. That led to dualism.

²⁸ See J. Duchesne-Guillemain, *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Les anciennes religions orientales, 3; Paris: PUF, 1962) 257-64; S. Shaked, "Qumran and Iran; Further Considerations," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972) 433-46; A. Hultgaard, "Das Judentum in der hellenistischen-römischen Welt und die iranische Religion," *Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.19.1, edd. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 1979) 512-90.

²⁹ P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) *passim*.

³⁰ On some of the conflicts between older ideas and these more developed concepts, see M. E. Stone, "Reactions to Destructions of the Second Temple: Theology, Perception and Conversion," *JSJ* 12 (1982) 195-200 and bibliography there.

³¹ H. Focillon, *The Art of the West* (London & New York: Phaidon, 1969) 1.9; see also the preface in that book written by J. Bony, particularly the section entitled "The Structure of Historical Time," *ibid* xix-xxii.

³² See Eisenstadt, *Axial Age* 16-26.

³³ Here not the purpose is not to set forth the "Axial Age" theories, or the development of them by Eisenstadt and others which set them into direct relationship with social changes.

³⁴ See J. J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Eschatology as Transcendence of Death," *CBQ* 36 (1974) 21-43.

³⁵ See S. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *Types of Redemption* ed. R. J. Z. Werblowsky (SHR, 18; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 72-87.

³⁶ This is, of course, a gross oversimplification. In fact, the biblical documents preserve many supramundane actors and numerous features of the mythical view survive. Yet there was still a very great contrast between the biblical actors, nameless and colourless, and the old gods. In the Bible, the "action" is not between heavenly players or in the heavenly realm.

³⁷ For purposes of our presentation we have deliberately oversimplified very complex issues; the observations of Focillon quoted above are apt here. Among other assumptions, we have spoken throughout as if the "official view", that to be gained from the study of the biblical documents, is an accurate reflection of ancient reality. This obviously is not the case. Yet, since we are trying to map an intellectual evolution, we can contrast the ideal view in the documents of one period with the ideal view in the documents of another.

³⁸ There were, of course, some syncretistic forms of Judaism. The oldest attested in our period may have been in the Elephantini papyri and there is later evidence too. This has been stressed, perhaps overstressed, by Morton Smith in his provocative and important book *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University, 1971).

³⁹ One might wish to describe it was a change of balance between myth and history, following Cross' formulation (see above). Yet it is more than merely a

change of balance, for the transformation of the view of time and place brought about a basic difference in the character of religion and institutions.

⁴⁰ The texts are gathered and analyzed in Chapter 6 of Nickelsburg and Stone *Faith and Piety in Early Judaism*. References will be found in detail there. See also B. Vawter, "Prov 8:22: Wisdom and Creation," *JBL* 99 (1980) 205-216.

⁴¹ See also Philo, *de Opif. Mundi* 16-25 where he uses the same image as *Genesis Rabba*.

⁴² See Scholem *Messianic Idea* 7 ff. The whole of pp. 1-36 of that book contain much that is germane to our discussion.

⁴³ Consider, for example, Josephus' narratives of conflicts between Pharisees and the royal house. The Essene documents refer to the persecution of their founder by Alexander Jannai. Instances could be multiplied. It should be remembered that the Hasmoneans held, first and foremost, the office of High Priest.

⁴⁴ 2 *Apocalypse of Baruch* chap. 4 says, in the seer's name, that if the temple is destroyed and the sacrifices of Israel cease, there is no reason for the world to continue to exist. God's response is not that this view is too narrow or not profound enough. It is that the Jerusalem that is perishing is the earthly one, while the heavenly Jerusalem will continue to exist as it has since before creation. See further Stone, "Destructions of the Temple".

⁴⁵ Julius Stone, *Human Law* 11-14 points out the speculative character of the Greek concept of justice at large which, we may add, contrasts with the particularities of the Jewish understanding of the Torah and its working out. This provides a useful foil for the ideas we are discussing. See p. 220 and note 4, above.

⁴⁶ The most revealing passage on the social position of the Wise is ben Sira 39:1-11, where an "aristocratic" view is propounded: see also Nickelsburg and Stone, *Faith and Piety* 93-95. The democratization inherent in the Pharisaic approach, the stressing of the role of the learned, has been highlighted by some scholars, not always in a judicious manner.

⁴⁷ See Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions* (Philadelphia Fortress, 1980) 71-86 on the whole of this problematic.

MATÉRIAUX POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA FORMULE *SIVE DEVIS, SIVE DEA*

JAIME ALVAR

À mon ami Jesús García.

C'est un *topos* de parler de la précision formelle des Romains dans de nombreux aspects de leur réalité culturelle. En partant de cette idée il est fréquent d'accepter une précision similaire dans la pratique religieuse. Néanmoins, dans toutes les religions on retrouve l'exactitude à reproduire le rituel, et c'est pour cela qu'il existe des formules qui facilitent une correcte célébration de l'acte religieux. Il ne serait pas judicieux de nier cette réalité, mais la complexité de la religion romaine oblige à nuancer cette vision globale.

En effet, les doutes dans le champ de la religion romaine sont constants et non seulement pour nous, mais aussi pour tous ceux qui la pratiquaient. Ces ambiguïtés montrent bien que la précision en matière religieuse n'était pas aussi exacte, par exemple, qu'en matière juridique. Mais il est aussi certain que pour lutter contre ces imprécisions on inventa des formules par lesquelles on voulait empêcher le rejet divin d'une action religieuse et obtenir que celle-ci puisse atteindre le but proposé.¹

Par conséquent il est convenable de différencier les formules préventives du reste des formules rituelles. En ce sens il est clair que les *indigitamenta* sont le résultat du souci de précision² et pour cela il faut les soumettre à un traitement différent de celui des formules destinées à prévenir le rejet divin. Il en est de même pour les *dei certi* et *dei incerti*,³ qui ne touchent qu'indirectement le problème ici posé.

Une des formules préventives les plus connues est celle qui fait référence au nom de la divinité à qui on adresse la prière: *sive quo alio nomine fas est nominare*.⁴ En général on emploie celle-ci avec un théonyme, auquel on ajoute la formule au cas où ce nom ne serait pas celui de la divinité pour qui on réalise l'acte religieux. Mais ce n'est pas le même cas pour une autre formule aussi bien connue, en

relation avec le sexe de la divinité, et qui fait l'objet de ces pages: *siue deus siue dea*. Dans ce cas se détache l'absence systématique du théonyme correspondant; ce qui met en évidence que le doute ne porte pas exclusivement sur le sexe, mais sur l'essence même de la divinité vénérée.

Quo qu'il en soit, il est permis de s'interroger sur l'identité — ou tout simplement d'essayer de délimiter l'identité — de la divinité ou des divinités à qui cette formule est destinée, de la même façon qu'on a essayé de reconnaître la divinité sousjacente à *dea Dia, Numen* ou *Hermaproditea*,⁵ pour citer seulement quelques exemples ou de la même façon qu'on a essayé d'identifier les dieux appartenant aux différents groupes ou catégories dans les classifications de dieux Romains, cas des *dei certi, dei incerti, dii nouensides, dii indigetes*, etc.⁶

Pour mener à bien un travail de ce type il faut analyser chacun des cas où la formule est présente et son contexte. On va recueillir ici les matériaux pour l'étude de la formule *siue deus siue dea*, en différenciant les cas procédant de l'épigraphie de ceux provenant des textes littéraires. Pour l'ordonnance du catalogue on a suivi, dans la partie épigraphique, la numération du *CIL*, en ajoutant à la fin les inscriptions parues après sa publication; pour la présentation des textes littéraires on a suivi un critère de classement alphabétique.

I. *Documents Epigraphiques*

1. — *CIL*, I, 632 = I, 2² 801 = VI, 110 = VI, 30694. *Ara marmorea de grande taille.*

*Sei deo sei deiuae sac(rum) / C(auis) Sextius C(ai) f(ilius) Caluinus
Pr (aetor) / de senati sententia / restituit.*

La chronologie n'est pas certaine. *C. Sextius C.f. C.n. Caluinus* fut consul en 124 av. J.-C.⁷ Probablement il avait été préteur en 127 av. J.-C.⁸ On n'a pas de certitude absolue que celui-ci soit le même que notre *Caius Sextius Caluinus*. Dans le commentaire du *CIL*⁹ on lit qu'un fils de celui-ci fut probablement le *C. Sextius Caluinus* qui s'opposa au préteur Glaucia de l'année 100 av. J.-C.¹⁰ et il rapporte à ce dernier l'épigraphe en question, qui doit appartenir à l'époque de Sylla. Münzer considère qu'il est difficile d'attribuer

cette inscription au consul de l'époque des Gracques et que plus probablement elle appartient à son fils ou à un *C. Sextius Caluinus* plus jeune.¹¹ Pour Broughton le préteur signalé dans cette inscription peut être *C. Sextius Caluinus*, qui occupa cette magistrature probablement en 92 av. J.-C.¹² Dessau aussi soutient que cette inscription correspond au fils du consul de 124 av. J.C.¹³ L'opinion de tous ces auteurs est fondée sur Mommsen, pour qui — si la construction et restauration dépendaient bien du Sénat — à l'époque présyllanienne cette fonction était remplie par le *populus*¹⁴ et il allègue entre autres exemples notre épigraphe, même s'il n'est pas question de la restauration d'un bâtiment; c'est pour cela que je ne vois pas que cet argument soit valable. Mais en suivant Mommsen tous les autres préfèrent penser que l'inscription correspond au deuxième *Caius Sextius Caluinus*. Cependant, celui-ci appartient aussi à l'époque présyllanienne, puisqu'il eut le poste de préteur probablement en 92 av. J.-C. et certainement avant 90;¹⁵ par conséquent il existe la même difficulté pour l'identifier avec le préteur de l'inscription qu'on étudie. Münzer introduit une autre possibilité en affirmant qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un *C. Sextius Caluinus* plus jeune,¹⁶ mais cette alternative n'est pas plausible, étant donné qu'il n'y a aucun préteur de ce nom après 92 av. J.-C. D'autre part, un argument en faveur de l'identification du préteur de l'inscription avec celui de 127 av. J.-C. est que la filiation est identique, tandis que celle du préteur de 92 reste inconnue. Je ne prétends pas assurer que l'inscription soit sans conteste de 127, mais remarquer que les difficultés proposées pour la datation en 127 sont également valables pour 92.

Ce qui paraît évident c'est qu'il y a eu une restauration en 127 ou en 92 av. J.-C. d'une inscription et probablement d'un monument (autel) antérieur qui pour une raison inconnue, était endommagé ou avait disparu. Il est évident que le préteur *C. Sextius Caluinus* est le sujet du *restituit* et, par conséquent, les commentaires du *CIL*, VI, 110 et 30694, selon lesquels l'inscription primitive serait de l'époque de Sylla et la restauration postsyllanienne, semblent incorrects. Ce qui paraît impossible à préciser est la date de la première dédicace, puisque même si la diphtongue -*ei* disparaît du latin parlé à Rome à la fin du III^e et au début du II^e siècle av. J.-C., la graphie survit¹⁷ d'autant plus facilement qu'il s'agit d'une formule religieuse.

Encore plus problématique est l'identification de la divinité contenue dans la formule. Mommsen propose une ingénieuse hypothèse fondée sur le fait que cet autel fut trouvé au Palatin à côté du temple de Vesta, près de l'endroit où l'on entendit la voix sacrée, à l'arrivée des Gaulois, d'*Aius Locutius*.¹⁸ Selon différents auteurs anciens¹⁹ on sait qu'à cet endroit avait été érigé un autel à *Aius Locutius*. D'après Mommsen celui-ci serait l'autel en question et au lieu de mentionner la divinité par un nom quelconque on l'aurait nommée avec cette formule préventive. La faiblesse de l'argument de Mommsen est évidente et déjà dans le *CIL VI*, 30694 Huelsen nia cette identification allégant la possibilité que l'autel aurait pu être déplacé.²⁰ D'autre part, si la voix sacrée avait été baptisée sous le curieux nom d'*Aius Locutius*, il est peu probable qu'elle aurait été appelée dans une dédicace officielle *sei deo sei deiuae*. Par conséquent l'identification de la divinité contenue dans cette formule avec *Aius Locutius* paraît peu convaincante.

2. — *CIL*, I, 1114 = I, 2, 1485 = XIV, 3572. Cippe en pierre tiburtine.

Sei deus / sei dea.

Il semble que cette inscription fut trouvée à Tivoli, mais maintenant elle est à Rome.

La chronologie est impossible à préciser, quoique Dessau remarque que les lettres sont anciennes.²¹ Evidemment il s'agit d'une inscription similaire à l'antérieure, mais sans le problème de la restauration qui permettait un rapprochement historique. Dans ce cas on voit aussi apparaître la diphongue *-ei*, ce qui permettrait de la dater de la même époque que le texte primitif du n° 1. Cependant, dans le cas précédent apparaît le mot *deiuae* ce qui pour Mommsen donne un caractère très ancien à l'inscription refaite par *C. Sextius Caluinus*;²² le fait que dans le numéro 2 on lise *dea* pourrait être un indice de modernité par rapport à l'antérieure.

Quoi qu'il en soit, sa datation à l'époque républicaine paraît incontestable; son inclusion dans le *CIL I* parmi les *Inscriptiones Antiquissimae* paraît le confirmer. D'ailleurs, la brièveté de l'inscription ne permet pas d'extraire d'autres conclusions, sauf qu'il s'agit d'une épigraphe semblable à celle qui dut être rétablie par *C. Sextius Caluinus*.

3. — *CIL*, VI, 111.

Siue deo / siue deae / C. Ter. Denter / ex uoto / posuit.

Cette inscription provient, semble-t-il, de Rome.²³ Le dédicant, *Gaius Terentius Denter*, est, du reste, inconnu. M. Bang a des doutes sur la lecture correcte entre *Denter* et *Deuter*.²⁴ L'existence d'un *P. Terentius Deuter* est confirmée dans le *CIL*, VI, 36414. Il n'est pas difficile de trouver des *cognomina Denter, Deuter* ou de même radical; le cas *Deuterius* est assez fréquent.²⁵ Le *cognomen Deuter* et ses dérivés proviennent, probablement, de l'ordinal grec.²⁶ Le radical de *Denter* et de ses dérivés (*Dentatus, Denticulus, Dentilianus, Dentio, Dento, Dentonianus, Dentonis*) proviennent de *dens*.²⁷ Les *cognomina* formés sur ce radical sont très fréquents.²⁸ Il n'est donc pas étonnant, de voir un *C. Terentius Denter* et par conséquent la correction ne peut être fondée que sur la démonstration que la lecture du *CIL* est incorrecte. Pour l'instant on maintiendra ainsi la lecture initiale. Il est probable que l'inscription soit encore d'époque républicaine étant donné que le *cognomen Denter* appartient habituellement à cette période,²⁹ mais elle peut être d'époque impériale si l'on tient compte du gentilice abrigé.

La dédicace, cette fois, est tout à fait différente de celle du n° 1. Celle-ci était un acte officiel (*de senati sententia*) donc on peut supposer que l'inscription primitive avait aussi un caractère officiel ou public. Le n° 2 contient un texte similaire au primitif du n° 1, et pour cette raison on pourrait inférer que le n° 2 était aussi officiel ou public. Dans l'inscription qu'on commente maintenant, un *priuatus* fait la dédicace à une divinité inconnue *ex uoto*; il ne paraît donc rien y avoir d'officiel ou de public. C'est la grande différence existante entre cette inscription-ci et les *tituli* précédents: son caractère apparent de dévotion individuelle (ou personnelle).

4. — *CIL*, VI, 2099, I, 20-24, II, 1-14 = VI, 32386. Grande *tabula* en marbre.

*L. Tutilio Pontiano Gentiano co(n)s(ule) Februar(ias)
in luco deae Diae Q. Licinius Nepos mag(ister) operis inchuandi/causa,
quod
in fastigio aedis deae Diae ficus innata esset, eruendam et/aedem refici-
endam, immolauit suouetaurilibus maioribus; item ad aedem deae*

*Diae boues feminas II, Iano patri arietes II, Ioui berbeces II/altilaneos,
 Marti arietes altilaneos II, Iunoni deae Diae Oues II, siue deo/siue deae
 oves II,*
*Virginibus diuis oves II, Famulis diuis uerbeces duos, Laribus/uverbeces
 duos,*
*Matri Larum oves duas, siue deo siue deae, in cuius tutela hic/lucus
 locusue
 est, oves II, Fonti uerbeces II, Florae oves II, vestae oves II,/vestae
 matri oves II;/item...*
*Adolendae Commolendae Deferundae oves II; item ante Caesaram
 Divi/n(umero) XVI Verbec (es)*
*inmolauit n(umero) XVI. M. Herennio Secundo, M. Egnatio
 Postumo/co(n)s(ulibus) III id(us) Mai(as)*
*in luco deae Diae Q. Licinius Nepos mag(ister) operis perfecti/causa,
 quod arboris*
*eruenda et aedis refectae, inmolauit suouetaurilibus maioribus/item ad
 aedem*
*deae Diae boues feminas II, Iano patri arietes II, Ioui uerbeces/II altila-
 neos, Marti*
*ariet(es) altilan(eos) II, Iunoni deae Diae oves II, siue deo/siue deae
 oves II, virginibus*
*diuis oves II, Famulis diuis uerbeces II, Matri Larum oves II,
 siue deo siue deae, in cuius tutela hic lucus locusue est, oves II,/Fonti
 uerbeces II,*
Florae oves II, Vestae oves II, Vestae matri oves II, item
*Adolendae/Commolendae De-
 ferundae oves II; item ante Caesarem Diuis n(umero) XVI
 uerbeces/inmolauit XVI.*
 ...

Avec ce texte débute une série qui provient des Actes des *fratres Aruales* qui font connaître le nombre et le genre de victimes immolées à chaque divinité, le motif du sacrifice, l'endroit et l'auteur de l'immolation et la date exacte. Etant donné que celui-ci est le premier de la série, j'ai choisi d'offrir une reproduction ample du texte, quoique incomplète. Plus loin on recueillera seulement les parties faisant allusion à la formule qu'on est en train d'étudier.

La présente inscription fournit des renseignements compris entre

le 3 janvier 183 ap. J.-C. et le 18 mai 184 ap. J.-C. La raison de cette série de sacrifices fut, selon la texte même, le besoin d'arracher un figuier qui avait poussé sur le toit du temple de la déesse Dia et la réparation postérieure. Il faut remarquer que la formule *sive deus siue dea* se répète deux fois dans la première partie du texte, qui correspond au sacrifice réalisé le 8 février 183 ap. J.-C. Sans doute, sous cette invocation on implore deux divinités différentes; la deuxième est mieux précisée, car après la formule on ajoute: *in cuius tutela hic lucus locusue est*, ce qui évidemment veut dire qu'on invoque la divinité protectrice du bois sacré des Arvales, probablement un génie.

Il en est de même pour le sacrifice du 13 mai de la même année dû à la restauration du temple. On voit à nouveau deux fois la formule, répétée de la même façon que le 8 février. Le double emploi de notre invocation dans la même inscription autorise à affirmer que celle-ci n'était pas utilisée en remplacement d'une seule divinité, mais qu'elle pouvait être employée à la place de n'importe quelle divinité dont le sexe était incertain. Dans tous les cas, les victimes immolées *sive deo siue deae* sont deux brebis; et cela est important parce que le seul trait qui marque la différence des divinités entre elles est, justement, l'animal sacrifié.

5. — *CIL*, VI, 2104 a = VI, 32388. *Tabula* en marbre.

...

- 1 . [in luco deae Diae L. Alfenius Auitianus promag(ister)/operis inchuandi causa, quod ... immolauit suoue]tau/rilibus maiorib(us) deae Diae [b(oues) f(eminas)/n(umero) II,
- 2 . *Iano patri arietes n(umero) II, Ioui uerbeces n(umero) II Marti arietes numero II, Iunoni d]ea Diae oues/n(umero) II, sive deo siue deae ou(es) n(umero) II ...*

L'inscription est fragmentaire. Il nous manque le début mais nous savons qu'elle appartient à l'époque d'Elagabal, plus exactement à l'année 218 ap. J.-C. La cassure empêche de connaître le motif pour lequel le sacrifice fut réalisé. C'est la seule variante par rapport aux autres Actes. Le caractère répétitif qu'ils ont, permet de restituer sans difficulté une grande partie du texte perdu. En tout cas, dans le texte conservé apparaît un sacrifice de deux brebis *sive deo siue deae*, en conséquence il n'y a pas de nouveauté. Cette

tabula fut trouvée en 1778 dans le bois sacré des Arvales, mais la divinité qui se cache sous l'invocation *siue deus siue dea* n'est pas le génie tutélaire du bois, mais l'autre divinité mentionnée dans l'inscription précédente.

6. — *CIL, VI, 2107 = VI, 32390 = Dessau, ILS, 5048. Tabula en marbre.*

... *VII id(us) Nou(embres)*
fratres Arual(es) in luc(o) d(eae) D(iae) uia Camp(ana) apud/lap(idem)
(quintum) conu(enerunt) per C. Porc(ium) Priscum
mag(istrum), et ibi imm(olauerunt), quod ui tempestat(is)/ictu
fulmin(is) arbor(es) sacr(i) l(uci) d(eae) D(iae)/attact(ae)
arduer(int), ear(um)q(ue) arbor(um) eruendar(um), ferr(o)/
fendendar(um),adolendar(um), commolendar(um),
item aliar(um) restituendar(um) causa operisq(ue) inchoandi,/aras tem-
poral(es) sacr(as) d(eae) D(iae)
reficiend(i), eius rei causa lustr(um) miss(um) suouetauri/lib(us)
maior(ibus); item ante aed(em)
d(eae) D(iae) b(oues) f(eminas) a(uro) iunct(as) n(umero) II,/item ad
ar(as) tempor(ales) dis inf(ra) s(ub)s(criptis):/ Ian(o) patr(i) ariet(es)
II, Ioui uer-
bec(es) II, Marti patri ult(orii) ar(ietes) n(umero) II, siue/deo siue deae
uerb(eces) II, Iun(onii)...

Le 7 novembre 224 ap. J.-C. les frères Arvales réalisèrent un sacrifice à différentes divinités ayant comme motif la restitution de certains arbres du bois sacré, qui avaient été détruits par la foudre pendant un orage. Le commencement de l'inscription est incomplet et perdu, mais dans ce qu'on conserve apparaît la cause qui motiva le sacrifice et les divinités auxquelles furent immolées les victimes. Parmi celles-ci on voit, à nouveau, la divinité inconnue sous-jacente dans *siue deus siue dea*, mais en cette occasion ne lui sont pas offertes deux brebis, selon la norme, mais deux moutons. Peut-être cela veut-il dire que la divinité présente *in mente* du dédiant est différente des deux autres connues par les textes antérieurs. En conséquence, de l'analyse de la formule *siue deus siue dea* dans les Actes des *fratres Arvales* on déduit que celle-ci était employée au moins pour trois divinités différentes.

7. — *CIL*, VI, 37164. *Ad n.* 2109 (=32391).

Dans 37164 est publié le fragment *b* correspondant à l'inscription 2109. Ce fragment n'avait pas été publié dans le supplément 32391 (*ad* 2109). Le fragment *b* est à son tour mutilé, mais à la ligne 6 on peut lire: SIVE DEAE VER [b ii ...]. A la ligne 5 devait se trouver, dans la partie perdue: [*siue deo*]. La date de cette inscription est inconnue; il est quand même intéressant de remarquer que dans ce cas sont sacrifiés aussi deux moutons (*uerbeces II*) *siue deo siue deae*. Sa ressemblance avec la précédente pourrait indiquer qu'il n'y avait pas un très grand écart chronologique.

Le changement de la victime d'une dédicace par une autre pourrait s'interpréter comme un changement dans le rituel, mais cette solution ne paraît pas plausible si on tient compte du court laps de temps qui sépare la dernière inscription où il est question de brebis (année 218) de la première dans laquelle il s'agit de deux moutons (année 224), et moins encore si on observe qu'il n'y a pas d'innovations dans l'activité rituelle globale entre les inscriptions antérieures au sacrifice de *uerbeces* et celles où cet animal est immolé. Il n'est pas non plus vraisemblable d'expliquer la variation sans accepter un changement dans le sexe de la victime: en effet, *ouis* peut être masculin et alors on devrait traduire "mouton". Cependant, *ouis* est sacrifiée systématiquement à des divinités féminines, tandis que *uerbex* est toujours mis en relation avec des divinités masculines.³⁰ Cette différence sexuelle dans l'emploi de *ouis* et *uerbex* dans les Actes des frères Arvales, interdit une traduction d'*ouis* par mouton. Ce qui met en évidence l'utilisation d'animaux mâle et femelle indistinctement pour *siue deus siue dea* c'est la propre ambiguïté sexuelle de cette divinité. Or, le fait que parfois lui soient sacrifiées des *oues* et parfois des *uerbeces*, rend évident que dans la pensée de l'offrant il y a deux divinités différentes, sinon le même animal serait toujours sacrifié. En tenant compte de tout cela, j'ai l'impression que sous l'invocation *siue deus siue dea* dans les Actes *Arualium* il y a, au moins, trois divinités différentes: un génie, une déesse et un dieu.

Ici s'achèvent les mentions à *siue deus siue dea* provenant des Actes des *fratres* Arvales qui, sans doute, constituent le groupe épigraphique le plus riche en information sur le sujet traité.

Parmi les inscriptions publiées par le *CIL* qui sont en relation avec cette formule il n'en reste qu'une provenant de l'Afrique.

8. — *CIL*, VIII, 21567 = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, V, 1043.

B) *Ut scias [tu]/quicum[que]/ in hac ex[pe]/ditione [sal/-u]us fueris et / hos titulo[s]/ legeris mut[us]/: Genio summ[o]/ Thasuni et deo siue deae [nu]/mini sanc[to]/ laeones [in]/ dieb(us) (quadraginta) f[eci]. Scripsi Fl[ac]/co et Ga[llo cos. a.d. .../ K]al. Iun(ias). Eo d[ie ex]/ dec(urione) sum pro[mo]/tus, uotum [so]/lui meo no[m(ine)]/ Catulus (centurio) [leg(ionis)]/ III Aug.*

Il s'agit de la face B d'une colonne taillée (en forme de prisme) trouvée à Aflû, près de Géryville, dans la *Provincia Mauretania Caesariensis*. Cette inscription est datée de 174 ap. J.-C.

Il s'agit d'une dédicace pour le salut de Marc Aurèle et du légat de la légion *M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus*, érigée par un centurion, conformément à un vœu qu'il avait fait au moment du départ de l'expédition (...reddo mea uota debita iam reuersus, quae omnibus deis uoueram exiens). D'après Mommsen le motif de l'expédition aurait été une partie de chasse.³¹ Néanmoins, il paraît plus probable de considérer qu'il s'agit d'une expédition militaire, laquelle, du reste, pourrait mettre en évidence la situation incertaine à ce moment là de la *Mauretania Caesariensis*.³² En plus, la coïncidence chronologique avec la promotion du dedicant est mieux en accord avec une expédition militaire que cynégétique.

Pour le formule qui nous intéresse, cette inscription contient deux renseignements remarquables. D'une part, le fait d'invoquer deux divinités: *Genio summo Thasuni* et *deo siue deae numini sancto*, qui pourrait mettre en évidence la parenté des deux divinités; en ce sens, *siue deus siue dea* serait plus proche des genies et des divinités abstraites que des dieux spécifiques. C'est à dire que l'offrant ne doute pas entre deux dieux concrets de sexe opposé, mais il ignore la nature même de la divinité qu'il invoque et cela est plus sensible par le second point que je voudrais souligner. La dédicace est aussi faite au *numen* saint, soit dieu soit déesse; on revient encore à des êtres abstraits, et dans ce cas l'emploi de la formule *siue deus siue dea* à côté du *numen sanctum*, être abstrait de genre neutre et, donc, de filiation sexuelle douteuse est significatif. L'utilisation de la formule

comme apposition au *numen* saint est très éclairante pour l'interprétation et c'est là où réside le plus grand intérêt de cette inscription.

Parmi les documents épigraphiques il y a encore deux inscriptions avec la formule, mais qui ne sont pas au *CIL*:

9. — Dessau, *ILS*, 4016. Soubassement en pierre.

Si deo si deai,/ Florianus rex.

L'épigraphe provient de *Lanuuium* et est fait en pierre d'Albe. Du dédicant, *Florianus*, Dessau dit: “*Rex puto sacrificulus municipii Lanuuini*”, ce qui suffirait à démontrer le caractère officiel de la dédicace. Il est intéressant de souligner qu'ici a disparu la diphtongue archaïsante et au lieu de *sei* qu'on trouvait auparavant, maintenant on voit tout simplement *si*. Cependant il y a un trait étonnant dans cette “modernisation” de la formule dans le mot *deai*, où le datif *-ai* pour *-ae* est archaïsant. Le dernier mot *rex* peut être une ultracorrection pour *rex*. Il y a la possibilité de reconstruire avec le *-s* final le mot *s(acrificulus)* ou *s(acrorum)*; de cette façon serait mieux déterminée la tâche religieuse municipale de *Florianus*.³³ Mais dans une inscription provenant de *Tusculum*³⁴ apparaît la même tâche exprimée *rex. sacr.* En tout cas, si le *-s* final n'est pas l'initial de *sacrificulus* on doit noter l'absence de ce deuxième terme, qui est présent dans toutes les inscriptions que j'ai révisées.³⁵ De toutes façons le dédicant est encore plus problématique. Il paraît clair que *Florianus* n'est pas un citoyen Romain. D'après les exemples qu'on connaît il ne paraît pas qu'un non-citoyen puisse occuper une telle magistrature: le *rex sacrificulus* de *Tusculum* est *Sex. Octavius Sex. f. Pal. Felicianus*, qui en plus est un sénateur municipal.³⁶ Dans une épigraphe de Rome, il occupe la charge de *rex sacrorum* — mais pas nécessairement dans cette localité³⁷ — *L. Manlius L. f. Pal. Seuerus*.³⁸ Probablement à Fiesole fut *rex* un individu, dont on sait seulement qu'il s'appelait *V... f. C. Murrius*, mais cela suffit pour savoir qu'il était citoyen.³⁹ Finalement, dans le municipé dont provient *Florianus*, *Lanuuium*, fut trouvée une épigraphe dans laquelle un autre citoyen exerçait parmi d'autres charges celle de *rex*: *C. Aquilleius C (?) f. Mundus rex sacr. aed. flamen Dialis*.⁴⁰

Après cette brève énumération le cas de *Florianus* comme *rex sacrorum* (ou *sacrificulus*) est étonnant. Si la lecture donnée par Dessau est

correcte ce personnage fut *rex sacrificulus municipii Lanuuini*; il serait donc nécessaire de reconSIDéRer l'extraction sociale des *reges sacrorum*. A moins que, comme dernière possibilité, *Florianus* ne soit pas *rex municipalis*, mais *rex* d'un *collegium* quelconque, mais rien n'autorise à accepter cette possibilité comme la plus probable, puisqu'on ne connaît pas beaucoup de *reges* à la tête des *collegia*; le titre est spécifiquement religieux et s'il n'avait été pas employé en ce sens *Florianus* aurait dit de quoi il était *rex*.

Finalement, le caractère archaïsant du texte épigraphique et la possible ultracorrection pourraient mettre en évidence la tentative de précision formelle de quelqu'un, qui n'est pas très familiarisé ou instruit avec les subtilités religieuses romaines. Dessau date cet épigraphhe du II siècle ap. J.-C.

10. — *Ann. Ep.*, 1977, 237, n° 816.

*Seruēilius C(ai)ī filius imperator, / hostibus uictoris,
Isaura Vetere / capta, captiueis uenum dateis, / sei deus
seiuē deast, / quonius in / tutela oppidum uetus Isaura /
fuit, [...] uotum soluit.*

Ce texte apparu à Bozkir, environ à dix kilomètres à l'ouest de Zenzibar Kalesi (Turquie), est inscrit sur un bloc de grès rouge et gris. Il fut publié par Hall en 1974⁴¹ et constitue un monument de grand intérêt pour plusieurs motifs. Il commémore la prise de la cité d'Isaura par *P. Seruilius Vatia*, ce qui lui vaudra le surnom *Isauricus*.⁴² La campagne de *Seruilius* à Isaura se conclut avec la prise de la capitale en 75 av. J.-C., on peut donc dater l'inscription de cette année ou d'un peu plus tard. Cette trouvaille, relativement récente, nous renseigne sur d'autres aspects qui permettent de connaître mieux la campagne d'*Isauricus*. Elle est d'un grand intérêt, car elle confirme l'existence d'une formule d'*euocatio* préalable à l'assaut d'une ville, qu'on ne connaît jusqu'à présent que par un texte de Macrobre,⁴³ dont il sera question plus loin.

Dans ce cas la formule *sei deus seiuē deast* est employée au lieu du nom de la divinité tutélaire d'*Isaura Vetus*. Il est difficile d'accepter que le général victorieux ne connût pas le nom de cette divinité et que ce soit la raison pour laquelle *Seruilius* l'a invoquée sous cette forme ambiguë. Il semble plutôt qu'on perçoit l'existence d'une

formule rigide qui devait être employée avec exactitude dans des circonstances déterminées, d'où le maintien de graphies archaïques (mieux qu'archaïsantes). La ressemblance avec le texte de Macrobe est évidente: *si deus, si dea est, cui populus ciuitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela...* Il n'est pas non plus acceptable dans ce cas que les Romains n'aient pas connu le nom de la divinité tutélaire de Carthage. On met en évidence la rigidité formelle de la formule de l'*euocatio* à cause de l'identité de forme dans les deux cas où elle est conservée, malgré les soixante-dix ans qui les séparent. Ce fait n'est pas étonnant, car *Seruilius Vatia* était *pontifex*,⁴⁴ ce qui expliquerait sa connaissance de la formule de l'*euocatio*. En conséquence, comme l'affirme J. Le Gall, "l'opération à laquelle il a procédé devant *Isaura Vetus* a bien été une *euocatio* et pas simplement un rite analogue («similar») comme l'a suggéré le Professeur A. Hall".⁴⁵

Je considère opportun de remarquer que cette inscription présente la formule *sive deus sive dea* dans un contexte tout à fait différent de tous ceux qui ont été exposées jusqu'à présent, ce qui évidemment dénote l'absence d'unité formelle dans son emploi.

Ce sont là toutes les inscriptions qu'on connaît avec la formule *sive deus sive dea*. J'analyserai plus tard l'information qu'elles nous offrent sur cette formule; mais auparavant il convient de présenter les textes littéraires qui la mentionnent.

II. Textes littéraires

11. — ARNOB., III, 8.

*Non enim deus mas est, sed nomen eius generis masculini est, quod idem uos dicere religione in uestra non quitis. Nam consuestis in precibus ‘sive tu deus es sive dea’ dicere, quae dubitationis exceptio dare uos diuis sexum diiunctione ex ipsa declarat. Adduci ergo non possumus, ut corpora credamus deum. Nam esse necesse est corpora, si sunt mares ac feminae, in significata et generum disiunctione.*⁴⁶

Le texte d'Arnob est lié à la polémique entre les chrétiens et les païens. On suppose que l'*Aduersus nationes* fut rédigé aux environs de l'année 300 ap. J.-C. et on déduit du contexte que la formule était encore en usage à l'époque où Arnobe, récemment converti au christianisme, composait son oeuvre contre le paganisme.

A cette occasion, le discours est centré sur le problème du sexe des dieux. Arnobe affirme que le dieu des chrétiens n'a pas de sexe, son nom, seul est de genre masculin, dans un brillant exemple de metalinguistique. Le fait que les païens adressent des prières du type *siue deus siue dea* indique que leurs dieux sont sexués. L'auteur conclut avec cette réflexion dont le but n'offre pas le moindre doute: le sexe est la caractéristique qui permet différencier les corps, et les corps ne peuvent pas être des dieux; on peut en déduire que si les païens adorent des êtres sexués, ceux-ci ne sont pas des dieux et, en conséquence, ils sont dans l'erreur. En laissant de côté la faiblesse argumentaire de notre auteur, il est spécialement intéressant de noter l'orientation qu'il fournit sur l'emploi de la formule. Il paraît clair qu'à partir de l'exposition d'Arnobe on obtient la conclusion que la formule n'est pas en relation avec le problème de l'ambiguïté sexuelle de quelques-unes — ou de plusieurs — des divinités romaines, mais avec le doute du dédicant envers la divinité concrète à laquelle il doit adresser sa prière. En ce sens, le renseignement fournit par Arnobe ne contredit absolument pas ce qu'on a appris des documents épigraphiques. C'est-à-dire, le problème théorique de notre formule ne réside pas dans des nuances abstraites sur les ambiguïtés sexuelles divines; mais dans des réalités concrètes sur le choix des divinités auxquelles il faut s'adresser avec précision.

Finalement il faut rappeler que probablement à l'époque de la composition de l'*Aduersus nationes* (ca. 300 ap. J.-C.), la formule *siue deus siue dea* était encore en usage.

12. — CATO, *De agric.*, 139.

Lucum conlucare Romano more sic oportet: porco piaculo facito, sic uerba concipito: 'si deus, si dea es, quoium illud sacrum est, uti tibi ius est porco piaculo facere illiusce sacri coercendi ergo harumque rerum ergo, siue ego siue quis iussu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum siet, eius rei ergo te hoc porco piaculo immolando bonas preces precor, uti sies uolens propitius mihi domo familiaeque meae liberisque meis: harumce rerum ergo macte hoc porco piaculo immolando esto'.⁴⁷

Caton nous fait connaître ici l’existence d’un rituel déterminé pour le défrichement et la mise en culture d’un bois. Le rituel contient une formule fixe, donc de caractère officiel, même si elle est utilisé par des particulières. Si chaque individu qui mettait en culture un terrain, auparavant occupé par un bois, appliquait la coutume romaine il faudrait en déduire que l’emploi de la formule devait être assez fréquent dans la première moitié du II^e siècle av. J.-C.⁴⁸ et sa connaissance très repandue. Cependant, on ne peut pas savoir si Caton reflète ici l’usage habituel ou s’il est en train de révéler la façon correcte dont les choses doivent se faire. Néanmoins, on peut affirmer que la connaissance, au moins théorique, de la formule devait être à la portée d’une bonne partie des habitants rustiques de l’Italie et des colons provinciaux. Il est probable que la fréquence même de son utilisation explique qu’elle n’ait pas été recueillie par les auteurs anciens et qu’en conséquence, elle n’ait été transmise que par ce texte de Caton. C’est-à-dire que la pauvreté de notre information n’est pas nécessairement en rapport directe avec l’intensité de son emploi.

La propre formulation que nous transmet Caton rapproche, d’un point de vue conceptuel, cette utilisation de *siue deus siue dea* de la formule de l’*euocatio* qui a été commentée à propos du numéro 10 de ce même catalogue. Justement avec l’*euocatio* et sa transmission a eu lieu un phénomène analogue à celui que j’ai proposé pour le cas du défrichement d’un bois. Il paraît chaque fois de plus en plus évident que l’*euocatio* a été fréquemment employée pendant la période d’expansion territoriale de la République Romaine et, cependant, on n’a conservé que deux cas dans lesquels apparaît la formule exactement mentionnée: devant la prise de Carthage⁴⁹ et après la chute d’*Isaura Vetus*.⁵⁰

En tenant compte de tout ce qu’on vient de dire, je crois qu’au moment de réaliser un essai de synthèse de l’emploi de la formule *siue deus siue dea*, l’exemple proposé par Caton doit se placer à côté de ceux de l’*euocatio*. Or, étant donné que les lieux concernés se trouvent généralement sous la tutelle des génies — et il ne faut pas oublier que Caton est en train de parler d’un *lucus* — on est obligé de grouper logiquement ce cas-là avec les autres où la formule s’applique à un *numen* ou un *genius*. Désormais s’ouvre un nouveau chemin qui permet de percevoir une certaine unité — ou mieux des

possibilités de rapprochement — dans les emplois jusqu'à présent si dissemblables d'une telle formule. Mais on reviendra sur tous ces aspects plus loin.

13. — GELL., II, 28.

(*Romani*)... *ubi terram mouisse senserant nuntiatumue erat, ferias eius rei causa edicto imperabant, sed dei nomen, ita uti solet, cui seruari ferias oporteret, statuere et edicere quiscebant ne alium pro alio nominando falsa religione populum alligarent. Eas ferias si quis polluisset piaculoque ob hanc rem opus esset, hostiam si Deo, si Deae, inmolabat, idque ita ex decreto pontificum obseruatum esse M. Varro dicit, quoniam et qua ui et per quem deorum dearumue terra tremeret incertum esset.*⁵¹

Le texte d'Aulu-Gelle est hautement éclairant pour interpréter le fonctionnement de cette formule préventive. On peut en déduire qu'elle n'est pas en relation avec le problème de l'ambiguïté sexuelle de certaines divinités romaines, mais avec l'essence d'une divinité dont le *numen* a produit un effet déterminé — ou peut le produire —. Devant l'ignorance sur la divinité à laquelle appartient un tel *numen*, on réalise une offrande de façon ambiguë pour que la divinité concernée l'accepte.

Dans ce cas concret la formule s'applique aux cérémonies publiques destinées à apaiser la divinité qui provoque un tremblement de terre. En principe il paraît étrange qu'une religion de la nature ignore quelle divinité produit les tremblements de terre, ou encore, qu'elle n'ait pas attribué cette propriété à une divinité déterminée. Il ne faut pas oublier que, si la plupart des phénomènes naturels ont été adjugés à une divinité particulière, il y en a encore beaucoup d'autres sans relation directe avec une seule divinité. C'est-à-dire que certains phénomènes naturels pourraient être le résultat de l'activité des *numina* de différentes divinités. Cela expliquerait l'application de la formule *siue deus siue dea* à un phénomène naturel comme un tremblement de terre. L'inexistence d'une divinité “des tremblements de terre” met en évidence que ce phénomène était à la portée du *numen* de n'importe laquelle et, étant donné qu'on ne sait pas qui l'a provoqué, il n'y a pas d'autre solution que de faire l'offrande *siue deus siue dea*.

Inutile de dire que dans ce cas le texte fait référence à un acte de caractère officiel ou public, qui était peut-être en usage vers la moitié du II^e siècle ap. J.-C., car les *Nuits Attiques* furent rédigées entre les années 146 et 148 ap. J.-C.⁵² si cette dernière est bien la date, par ailleurs controversée, de la mort d'Aulu-Gelle. On sait déjà qu'à l'époque d'Aulu-Gelle eut lieu la renaissance d'une piété que Hornsby appelle "old fashioned".⁵³ En ce sens, les mentions d'Aulu-Gelle sur des questions religieuses correspondraient plus à une connaissance directe de celles-ci, qu'à une étude érudite de mœurs en désuétude. Or, la mention précise de Varron dans ce passage montre clairement qu'Aulu-Gelle transmet une information trouvée chez l'écrivain républicain. Par conséquent, à partir du seul renseignement d'Aulu-Gelle on ne peut pas assurer que, dans la Rome du milieu de II^e siècle, le rituel qui devait être suivi en cas de tremblement de terre fut toujours en vigueur, mais il a pu facilement arriver à travers les livres pontificaux. D'autre part, d'après d'autres documents on sait que vers cette époque on célébrait des rituels semblables contenant la formule *sive deus sive dea*.⁵⁴

En définitive, dire qu'à l'époque d'Aulu-Gelle ce rituel continuait à être utilisé est pure conjecture. On peut seulement affirmer qu'à l'époque de Varron — 116-27 av. J.-C.⁵⁵ — ou avant, il existait une prescription pontificale selon laquelle il était nécessaire de sacrifier une victime *sive deo sive deae* en l'honneur de la divinité qui avait provoqué un tremblement de terre.

14. — LIV., VIII, 26, 4.

Namque conserenti iam manum Romano coruus repente in galea consistit, in hostem uersus. Quod primo ut augurium caelo missum laetus accepit tribunus, precatus deinde, 'si diuus si diua esset qui sibi praepe- tem misisset, uolens propitius adesset'.⁵⁶

Ce passage de Tite-Live se situe dans le cadre du récit de la conquête de l'Italie centrale par Rome. Le protagoniste de cette histoire est *Marcus Valerius Maximus*, qui à ce moment là était tribun militaire, d'après ce que nous apprend Tite-Live lui-même quelques lignes avant. *Valerius* exerça cette magistrature, qui marquait le début d'une brillante carrière, en 349 av. J.-C. Pour mentionner seulement quelques étapes de son *cursus honorum*, je voudrais souli-

gner qu'il fut consul en 348, consul pour la deuxième fois en 346, et de nouveau trois ans plus tard, dictateur en 342, consul par la quatrième fois en 335, censeur en 307, en 302 ou 301 dictateur par la deuxième fois, à nouveau consul l'année suivante et en 299 consul suffect.⁵⁷ On a donc là une intense carrière publique qui se prolonge pendant cinquante années, commencée avec le tribunat militaire de 349 av. J.-C. L'anecdote prodigieuse que recueille Tite-Live valut à *Valerius* le surnom de *Coruus*.

En remerciement pour le prodige dont il a été l'objet, *Marcus Valerius Maximus* invoque la divinité protectrice avec la formule *si diuus si diua esset*, parce qu'en réalité il ne sait pas lequel des immortels est son bienfaiteur. Evidemment on ignore si *Marcus Valerius* emploie effectivement une telle formule en 349 ou si elle n'est qu'une recréation littéraire de Tite-Live. Les sources qu'utilisa Tite-Live pour rédiger son œuvre ne permettent pas d'assurer la véracité du témoignage transmis par l'historien.⁵⁸ Or, on peut penser qu'une fois bien définie une action de caractère prodigieux la relation en sera digne de foi.

Il ne serait donc pas étonnant que vers la moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. il existât déjà à Rome la formule préventive qui est l'objet de cette étude, indépendamment de son emploi ou non par *Marcus Valerius Maximus* dans l'action qui lui valut le surnom de *Coruus*. D'autre part, on peut supposer qu'à l'époque de Tite-Live — 64 ou 59 av. J.-C. à 17 ap. J.-C.⁵⁹ — la formule était connue, car les circonstances où il l'emploie s'adaptent parfaitement aux autres exemples qu'on connaît. De plus, on a des témoignages de son emploi chronologiquement proches de Tite-Live,⁶⁰ ce qui confirme qu'il y a une continuité dans son usage.

Quant à l'analyse interne il faut remarquer le fait, par ailleurs peu fréquent, qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une offrande publique, mais d'un acte religieux individuel, un témoignage de piété personnelle.⁶¹ Il est possible que le tribun militaire ait été influencé par la formule de l'*euocatio*, qui devait être relativement habituelle à cette époque d'expansion militaire.⁶² Il est plus étonnant encore que *M. Valerius* n'ait pas su quelle divinité remercier de sa protection, car il est logique de penser qu'au moment d'entrer en combat il se soit recommandé à la protection d'une divinité concrète à laquelle donc il aurait pu adresser sa prière. D'autre part, il existe des indices qui

permettent de supposer que *M. Valerius* devait savoir quelle divinité était sa protectrice: dans un moment semblable l'attitude normale aurait été de penser au dieu Mars lui même. Si l'on accepte qu'il peut y avoir eu une influence de l'*euocatio* sur l'action de *M. Valerius*, on peut supposer que le dieu protecteur des Gaulois les avait abandonnés et qu'il était venu protéger les Romains. L'équivalent Celte de Mars est *Lug*, dont le nom a été mis en relation avec le mot *lugos*, signifiant corbeau, oiseau augural par antonomase.⁶³ La démonstration que l'*euocatio* a eu l'effet désiré est l'apparition du corbeau, symbole du dieu *Lug*, sur le casque du héros Romain. Avec cette interprétation le texte de Tite-Live, qui d'une autre façon ne pourrait pas dépasser le caractère anecdotique, trouve pleinement son sens.⁶⁴

15. — MACROB., *Sat.*, III, 9, 6-8.

Sed uidendum ne quod non nulli male aestimauerunt nos quoque confundat, opinantes uno carmine et euocari ex urbe aliqua deos et ipsam deuotam fieri ciuitatem. Nam repperi in libro quinto Rerum reconditarum Sammonici Sereni utrumque carmen, quod ille se in cuiusdam Furii uetustissimo libro repperisse professus est. Est autem carmen huius modi quo di euocantur cum oppugnatione ciuitas cingitur:

*Si deus, si dea est, cui populus ciuitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela, teque maxime, ille qui urbis huius populique tutelam recepisti, precor uenerorque ueniamque a urbis peto ut uos populum ciuitatemque Carthaginensem deseratis, loca templa sacra urbemque eorum relinquatis, absque his abeatis eique populo ciuitati metum formidinem oblivionem iniciatis, proditique Romam ad me meosque ueniat, nostraque uobis loca templa sacra urbs acceptior probatiorque sit, mihique populoque Romano militibusque meis praepositi sitis ut sciamus intellegamusque. Si ita feceritis, uoueo uobis templa ludosque facturum.*⁶⁵

Ceci est le texte bien connu de Macrobre dont j'ai déjà fait mention en commentant l'épigraphe d'*Isaura* (n. 10). La partie finale du texte constitue le dénommé *carmen* de l'*euocatio*. D'après Macrobre, qui rédigea ses *Saturnalia* vers l'année 400 ap. J.-C.,⁶⁶ avant de prendre d'assaut une cité, les Romains devaient procéder à une double opération religieuse, dont l'exécuteur était le commandant

en chef de l'armée assiégeante. Sa fonction était de prononcer deux prières destinées à faciliter la victoire. Dans la première on implorait les dieux protecteurs de la cité assiégée pour qu'ils l'abandonnent et qu'ils en attribuent la tutelle aux Romains. Ceux-ci, par contre, se compromettaient en leur rendant un culte. Ensuite on sacrifiait des animaux pour vérifier dans leur entrailles l'accord des dieux. Par l'intermédiaire de la deuxième prière on livrait la cité aux dieux infernaux Romains: *Dis Pater, Veiovis, les Manes...*⁶⁷

La véracité de cette action religieuse avait été mise en question par une bonne partie des savants, mais la découverte de l'inscription d'*Isaura* prouve que l'*euocatio* a dû être un rite fréquent.⁶⁸

Il ne semble pas que l'*euocatio* ait été en usage à l'époque de Macrobe, car il n'est capable d'apporter qu'un exemple d'époque républicaine, concrètement celui de la prise de Carthage en 146 av. J.-C. Cela met en évidence que son renseignement provient seulement des connaissances érudites et lui même l'avoue en citant *Sammonicus Serenus*, auteur d'époque sévérienne, qui à son tour avait extrait le *carmen* d'un certain *Furius*, que Macrobe n'identifie pas, mais qui, selon Le Gall, doit être *Furius Philus*, consul en 136 av. J.-C. et ami de Scipion Emilien.⁶⁹

Ce qui nous intéresse ici, dans l'*euocatio*, c'est la présence de la formule *siue deus siue dea*, comme forme générale de dénomination de la divinité protectrice de la cité assiégé. J'ai déjà remarqué, à propos de l'*euocatio* d'*Isaura*, qu'il est étonnant que l'armée attaquante ne connaisse pas le nom de la divinité tutélaire de son ennemi. Le problème est de savoir pourquoi devant Carthage et *Isaura Vetus* on a substitué au théonyme la formule ambiguë *siue deus siue dea*. Pour J. Le Gall, la réponse ne fait pas grande difficulté: "... les divinités auxquelles on s'adressait devaient être invoquées avec le plus de précision possible, mais il ne fallait les nommer que si l'on était certain qu'elles pouvaient être invoquées pour cette opération-là, sous le nom qu'on leur connaissait; en cas de doute il était préférable de s'en abstenir. L'*evocatio* s'adressait à tous les dieux de la ville, nécessairement englobés dans l'expression générale *sive deus, sive dea ...*, mais si l'on savait, de façon certaine, qu'elle était plus particulièrement sous la protection d'une de ces divinités, il était sage d'invoquer plus spécialement cette divinité dans le cadre de la prière: tel fut évidemment le rôle du *teque, maxime ...* de 146 av. J.-C.". ⁷⁰

Cependant, cette solution n'est pas pleinement satisfaisante. *Siue deus siue dea* ne renferme pas la totalité des divinités de l'ennemi, mais c'est le substitut du théonyme de la divinité tutélaire du *populus ciuitasque Carthaginiensis*, tandis que le *teque maxime, ille...* est le protecteur *urbis huius populique*. C'est à dire qu'on aperçoit — peut-être — deux divinités tutélaires différentes en fonction de l'objet protégé. Dans le premier cas elle ferait référence à des êtres abstraits ou généraux, tandis que dans le deuxième il serait question d'éléments concrets. Cette différence se rencontre aussi dans *peto ut uos populum ciuitatemque Carthaginensem deseratis*, face à *loca tempula sacra urbem eorum relinquatis...* Si l'on accepte cette explication, *siue deus siue dea* s'applique à la divinité protectrice de l'Etat Carthaginois et de ses citoyens, tandis qu'*ille* fait allusion au dieu protecteur de la cité de Carthage et de ses habitants. Une différenciation de ce genre est plausible car on trouve à Rome quelque chose de semblable. Il n'y a pas de doute que la divinité tutélaire de Rome est *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, cependant on connaît l'existence d'un *Genius urbis Romae, siue mas siue femina*⁷¹ et, en plus, on sait que les Romains cachaient le nom de la divinité tutélaire de Rome,⁷² qui évidemment devait être le *Genius urbis*. Par conséquent, Jupiter serait le dieu protecteur de l'Etat Romain, tandis que le *Genius* serait le dieu tutélaire de la cité de Rome. La confusion se produit au moment où les Romains ne sont plus capables de distinguer clairement entre ces deux concepts.

La divinité protectrice de Carthage en 146 av. J.-C. était Tanit, mais la divinité à laquelle s'adresse le *carmen* transmis par Macrobre paraît masculine: *ille*. Ce masculin, d'après Le Gall, fait référence à Baal-Hammon, dieu suprême du panthéon punique jusqu'à son remplacement par son parèdre au début du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.⁷³ Si cette version était correcte il y aurait encore une autre interprétation pour expliquer le contenu du *carmen* du 146 av. J.-C.: *si deus si dea est...* serait en rapport avec la divinité tutélaire de Carthage à ce moment là, probablement Tanit. *Ille qui ... tutelam recipisti* ferait allusion à la divinité qui jadis fut la protectrice de Carthage, c'est à dire, Baal-Hammon. A partir de ce moment le texte se réfère aux deux de façon indistincte avec le pronom *uobis*. Cependant il ne paraît pas probable que ce soit l'explication correcte pour les deux premières lignes de la formulé de l'*euocatio*, parce qu'*ille* n'est pas

nécessairement le pronom d'une divinité masculine, ce peut être aussi un masculin généralisateur et, en plus, parce que cela manifesterait des distinctions trop subtiles et, en conséquence, une connaissance suffisamment profonde du panthéon ennemi pour ne pas justifier l'emploi de l'ambiguë *siue deus siue dea*. En effet, quand le dieu tutélaire d'une cité assiégée est bien connu il ne paraît pas y avoir d'inconvénient pour substituer à la formule préventive le théonyme correspondant. Ainsi, devant la prise de Veies, Tite-Live (V, 21) raconte que Camille prononça la prière suivante:

Tuo ductu, inquit, Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios, tibique hinc decimam partem praedae uoce. Tu simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor ut nos uictores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat.⁷⁴

Il aurait été normal de trouver, au lieu de *Iuno regina, siue deus siue dea*; mais cette substitution paraît aller dans le sens de l'interprétation de J. Le Gall: puisque dans le cas de Carthage les Romains ont des problèmes pour déterminer quelle est la divinité tutélaire, ils remplacent le théonyme par la formule préventive, qui a une valeur collective et peut contenir tout le panthéon punique et, ensuite avec le *teque maxime, ille* ils essayent de préciser un peu plus le dieu tutélaire auquel s'adresse véritablement la prière. Cependant, pour réunir l'ensemble du panthéon punique, il serait plus conforme d'utiliser une formule plus courante, du type *diis deabusque Carthaginiensium...* et, par la suite, de s'adresser à la divinité tutélaire avec le théonyme ou avec une périphrase semblable à celle utilisée dans le *carmen* du 146 av. J.-C.

D'après tout ce qu'on vient d'exposer, je pense qu'il faut chercher une autre explication à l'utilisation du *siue deus siue dea* dans le contexte de l'*euocatio*. D'abord il faut reconnaître que le texte le plus pur à cet égard est l'inscription d'*Isaura* (n°10), car elle a la garantie d'authenticité que nous offre l'épigraphie. Par sa proximité dans la formulation, le texte de Macrobe paraît aussi assez pur et, même si sa transmission est un peu complexe, il ne donne pas l'impression d'avoir subi des transformations. Au contraire, le texte de Tite-Live se référant à la prise de Veies est le plus éloigné de ce qui paraît être la formule idéale de l'*euocatio*. Cela permet de considérer

que sa fiabilité, du point de vue de la précision formelle, est pratiquement nulle. Je veux dire que, probablement, Camille prononça devant Veies la véritable formule de l'*euocatio*, mais Tite-Live — ou ses sources — l'ont déformée, donnant lieu au texte conservé. La justification d'une telle transformation n'est pas difficile à trouver: *Iuno regina* recevait un culte à Rome et tout le monde connaissait sa provenance; par conséquent, dans la recréation littéraire de la prise de Veies, il était facile de remplacer la formule préventive *siue deus siue dea* par le théonyme à qui elle faisait référence: *Iuno regina*. Mais cette circonstance n'eut pas lieu avec les divinités tutélaires de Carthage ou d'*Isaura*.

De cette façon, il paraît logique de penser que la forme correcte de l'*euocatio* incluait la formule préventive *siue deus siue dea* et qu'il n'était pas possible à celui qui faisait l'offrande de lui substituer le théonyme correspondant; au contraire, il devait la prononcer avec la rigidité et la précision nécessaires pour obtenir le résultat souhaité. Une fois la formule prononcée de façon correct, l'officiant introduisait les particularités propres à chaque cas et on n'exprimait de modifications que dans les variantes préalablement établies. Là se trouveraient partiellement les différences entre le texte de Macrobre et l'inscription d'*Isaura*; quoi qu'il en soit, les divergences les plus importantes entre des deux textes auraient leur origine dans le fait que Macrobre transmet ce qui apparemment est le véritable *carmen* de l'*euocatio*, tandis que l'inscription d'*Isaura* recueille le témoignage *a posteriori* de l'*euocatio* d'*Isaura Vetus*. En tenant compte de tout cela, on peut dire que Tite-Live, dans son récit de la prise de Veies, ne reproduit absolument pas la formule de l'*euocatio*, mais on peut penser que, devant Veies, il y eut une *euocatio*.

Quant au reste, il est intéressant de signaler que très probablement en 396 av. J.-C. — date de la prise de Veies — la formule *siue deus siue dea* existait déjà, et à coup sûr en 146 av. J.-C. — destruction de Carthage —. En revanche, il est peu probable qu'elle ait été encore en usage à l'époque de Macrobre (fin du IV^e ou commencement du V^e siècle ap. J.-C.). L'apparition de notre formule dans le contexte de l'*euocatio* montre, à nouveau, son caractère public et sa possible inclusion dans les *libri pontificales*,⁷⁵ comme alternative à l'emploi d'un théonyme pas trop sûr.

16. — SERV., *Aen.*, II, 351.

EXCESSERE quia ante expugnationem euocabantur ab hostibus numina propter uitanda sacrilegia.

inde est quod Romani celatum esse uoluerunt in cuius dei tutela urbs Roma sit, et iure pontificum cautum est ne suis nominibus dii Romani appellarentur, ne exaugurari possent. Et in Capitolio fuit clipeus consecratus, cui inscriptum erat: GENIO VRBIS ROMAE SIVE MAS SIVE FEMINA. Et pontifices ita precabantur ‘Iuppiter optime maxime, siue quo alio nomine te appellari uolueris’, nam et ipsae ait (IV 576) sequimur te, sancte deorum, quisquis es.⁷⁶

Le présent commentaire de Servius de l'*Enéide* est étroitement uni au texte antérieur de Macrobre. On y fait savoir que pour éviter l'*euocatio*, les Romains cachaient le nom de la divinité tutélaire de leur cité. C'est la même information qu'on trouve chez Pline (*N.H.*, XXVIII, 18), transcrise dans la note 75, mais le passage de Servius est beaucoup plus explicite et riche en renseignements.

Servius rédigea ses commentaires de l'*Enéide* à l'époque de Théodose;⁷⁷ on ne peut cependant pas en déduire que la pratique à laquelle il fait allusion était encore en usage. Par contre, elle paraît être effectivement connue au temps de Virgile d'après ce qui se dégage du commentaire du mot *excessere*. Ce qu'on ne peut pas déterminer c'est à quel moment fut consacré au Capitole l'écu avec l'inscription: *Genio urbis Romae*.

Dans ce passage de Servius on ne trouve pas la formule habituelle *siue deus siua dea*, mais une formule d'opposition directement en relation avec le sexe du génie protecteur de la cité de Rome. En ce sens il peut paraître étonnant d'insérer dans ce *corpus* le texte de Servius, car il ne reproduit pas exactement la formule préventive qui a motivé le présent travail. On pourrait davantage le mettre en rapport avec le problème de l'ambiguïté sexuelle de certaines divinités Romaines, sur lequel la documentation en plus d'être rare est hétérogène. Certains auteurs mettent en relation le commentaire de Servius avec un intéressant passage d'Augustin d'Hippone où sont cités deux vers de *Valerius Soranus*, tribun de la plèbe en 82 av. J.-C. (78):

*Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
Progenitor genitrixque deum, deus unus et omnes.*⁷⁹

D'après le texte on ne saurait affirmer qu'il y a, avec Jupiter, ambiguïté sexuelle. Augustin lui-même cerne parfaitement le problème, et c'est seulement l'extraction des vers de *Valerius Soranus* de leur contexte qui peut produire des difficultés d'interprétation, le texte lui-même étant bien clair:

In hanc sententiam etiam quosdam uersus Valerii Sorani exponit idem Varro in eo libro, quem seorsum ab istis de cultu deorum scripsit; qui uersi hi sunt:

*Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
Progenitor genitrixque deum, deus unus et omnes.*

Exponuntur autem in eodem libro ita: cum marem existimarent qui semen emitteret feminam quae acciperet; Iouenque esse mundum et eum omnia semina ex se emittere et in se recipere: "Cum causa, inquit, scripsit Soranus: Iuppiter progenitor genitrixque; nec minus cum causa unum et omnia idem esse; mundus enim unus, et in eo uno omnia sunt".⁸⁰

Il n'y a pas de doute, donc, sur le sexe de Jupiter; l'explication recueillie par Augustin est tout à fait acceptable. Il n'y a pas d'ambiguïté sur le sexe du génie protecteur de Rome, le problème réside en ce qu'on ne sait pas ou qu'on ne veut pas préciser si ce génie est de sexe masculin ou féminin. Certes il est possible que, par intérêt, les Romains laissent la question sans réponse, de façon à éviter une *euocatio* dans leur propre cité. Il faut d'ailleurs signaler que *Valerius Soranus*, auteur des vers recueillis par Augustin, fut exécuté pour avoir révélé le nom secret de Rome, selon ce que nous disent Servius,⁸¹ Pline,⁸² Solin,⁸³ etc. Par conséquent, il est possible que le texte d'Augustin soit à rattacher à ceux qui expliquent la cause de l'exécution de *Valerius Soranus*, et plus encore en tenant compte du fait que tant Augustin que Servius citent une source commune: Varro. Il est logique de penser que les vers de *Valerius Soranus* sont en relation avec la révélation du nom secret de Rome et, en conséquence, avec le problème de l'*euocatio*.

Mais toujours sur la question de l'ambiguïté sexuelle de certaines divinités j'aimerais présenter deux autres textes qui clarifient davantage encore cette affaire qui parfois a été mise en rapport avec la formule *sive deus sive dea*. Le premier d'entre eux est le *carmen* 63 de Catulle, où l'on raconte la légende d'Attis. Au début du poème l'auteur n'hésite pas à attribuer un sexe masculin à Attis: *Super alta uectus Attis celerei rate maria* (vers 1). Mais après avoir mentionné la

castration avec le couteau en silex (v. 4-5), il attribue au dieu des adjectifs au féminin (*citata*, v. 8; *furibunda*, *uaga*, v. 31; etc.) et dans le vers 27 on peut lire: *Simul haec comitibus Attis cecinit nota mulier*. Dans le *carmen* de Catulle, Attis lui-même reconnaît sa brusque transformation sexuelle: *ego mulier, ego adolescens, ego ephebus, ego puer* (v. 63); mais il ne prend pas sur lui sa nouvelle situation: *Ego nunc deum ministra et Cybeles famula ferar?/Ego Maenes, ego mei pars, ego uir sterilis ero?* (v. 68-69). L'ambiguité sexuelle d'Attis, est, donc, dûe à son émasculation.

Plus problématique encore est le deuxième texte, de Macrobre (*Sat.*, III, 8, 2-3):

*Nam et apud Caluum Aterianus adfirmat legendum,
pollentemque deum Venerem,
non deam. Signum etiam eius est Cypri barbatum corpore sed veste muliebri. cum spectro
ac statura uirili et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτον
appellat. Laeuinus etiam sic ait: Venerem igitur alnum adorans, siue femina siue
mas est, ita ut alma noctiluca est.
Philochorus quoque in Attide eandem adfirmat esse lunam et ei sacrificium facere uiros
cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili, quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina.*

On y trouve à nouveau l'expression *siue femina siue mas* attribuée à Vénus, dont le sexe féminin semblerait ne laisser aucun doute. Néanmoins, le fait qu'on emploie cette variante pour une divinité précise et très connue, autorise à ne pas considérer cet emploi comme analogue à celui du *Genius urbis Romae*. Dans ce dernier cas il n'y a pas en effet ambiguïté sexuelle, mais méconnaissance ou occultation du sexe. Dans le cas de Vénus il y a apparemment ambiguïté et son explication obligerait à faire une longue analyse, trop éloignée des centres d'intérêts de ce travail; pourtant, le problème vaudrait bien une recherche indépendante.

L'utilisation dans ce cas du *siue deus siue dea* ne diffère pas beaucoup de ce qu'on sait sur l'emploi de la formule, car elle apparaît encore une fois dans un contexte officiel et dans des limites chronologiques où l'existence de cette formule a déjà été confirmée.

III. *Approche chronologique de l'emploi de la formule*

La détermination de la chronologie de cette formule prévenante présente des difficultés. D'une part, certains des textes épigraphiques restent difficiles à dater, par exemple les numéros 2, 3, 9 et

pour d'autres il est pratiquement impossible de préciser à quel moment ils appartiennent, comme par exemple le numéro 1. Malgré cela, d'autres contiennent explicitement la date et, curieusement, dans une proportion considérablement plus élevée que ce qui est habituel en épigraphie. Le phénomène ne doit pas nous étonner, car tout au long des pages précédentes on a découvert le caractère essentiellement officiel de la formule et justement les inscriptions officielles sont les plus fréquemment datées. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'étude chronologique de ce catalogue n'est pas décourageante.

La détermination chronologique des textes littéraires recueillis pose davantage de problèmes, car il faut faire attention non seulement à la date historique que rapporte le texte, mais aussi à son époque de rédaction. Certains textes ne font pas allusion au moment auquel il se réfèrent et on ne peut donc pas en déduire que l'usage de la formule coïncide avec le moment de composition du texte, par exemple les numéros 11, 12 et 16. Dans d'autres cas, un auteur en cite un autre, antérieur qui, à son tour, mentionne l'emploi de la formule, mais sans qu'elle se réfère nécessairement à son époque (n. 13). En d'autres occasions on ne sait pas exactement si la formule fut employée, comme il arrive avec le texte de l'*euocatio* devant Veies (Liu., VI, 21, cité dans le commentaire du n. 15), ou avec le récit de Tite-Live (VIII, 26) à propos de *M. Valerius*. Enfin, une autre difficulté importante réside dans le fait de savoir si la formule était en usage à l'époque de rédaction de chaque texte. La solution de ce dilemme est de caractère subjectif, car il se résoud à travers une analyse du contenu du propre texte.

En tenant compte de ces difficultés je vais essayer d'établir des limites fiables pour l'utilisation de *sive deus sive dea* en distinguant clairement les dates sûres de celles qui sont probables. L'indice de probabilité dans l'exactitude des unes et des autres dates est divers; cela aussi devra être pris en considération.

La date la plus ancienne à laquelle fut utilisée la formule, d'après les sources, correspond à l'année 349 av. J.-C. (n. 14), mais il est possible qu'elle existât auparavant, en 396 av. J.-C. si est correcte l'analyse qu'on vient de réaliser de l'*euocatio* devant Veies, à propos du n. 15. Apparemment ce serait la première fois que les Romains utilisèrent la formule et il est significatif qu'elle l'ait été devant une cité étrusque, la première avec laquelle Rome eut des conflits belli-

queux, commencés d'après la tradition, presque un siècle auparavant. Il ne serait donc pas étonnant que l'*euocatio* fût un emprunt étrusque et, qu'en définitive, la formule *siue deus siue dea* puisse avoir son origine dans la religion étrusque. En ce sens il est intéressant de signaler la liaison existant, dans de nombreux cas, entre un génie et notre formule et il ne faut pas oublier que le *genius* romain provient, probablement, du monde religieux étrusque.⁸⁴ Par conséquent, il ne paraît pas invraisemblable que notre formule ait trouvé son origin dans la *disciplina etrusca*. Cependant, il y a certains indices qui permettent d'aventurer une origine indo-européenne pour l'*euocatio*. En effet, Basanoff signale qu'une telle opération religieuse est étrangère au monde sémité, pour qui la destruction d'une ville ennemie impliquait aussi la destruction de ses dieux.⁸⁵ En plus, apparemment, dans le monde hittite existait un rituel avec des caractéristiques similaires.⁸⁶

Après ces données initiales il y a un vide de l'information jusqu'à la moitié du II^e siècle av. J.-C., où la formule est alors utilisée dans deux circonstances différentes. D'abord, pour invoquer la divinité à qui est consacré un bois (n. 12) et, en second lieu, au moment de l'*euocatio* devant Carthage en 146 av. J.-C. (n. 15). En suivant l'ordre chronologique vient ensuite l'inscription de *Caius Sextius Caluinus* (n. 1), de l'année 127 ou 92 av. J.-C. Dans ce cas, la formule de *senati sententia* permet d'affirmer qu'il s'agit d'un acte officiel, dont on ne connaît cependant pas les causes. Du I^e siècle il y a deux documents: le n. 10 et le n. 13, où Aulu-Gelle renvoi à Varro. Le n. 10 date de l'an 75 av. J.-C. ou d'un peu plus tard et transcrit l'*euocatio* de *P. Seruilius* devant *Isaura Vetus*. Le texte n. 13 décrit les cérémonies publiques qu'on doit célébrer en cas de tremblement de terre.

À ces renseignements, dont on connaît la chronologie avec assez de précision, il faut ajouter encore deux épigraphes probablement d'époque républicaine. Le n. 2 ne permet pas en lui même d'obtenir des conclusions, mais évidemment il est formellement en relation avec le n. 1 ou avec le n. 3. Celui-ci est le dernier document d'époque républicaine, s'il n'appartient pas déjà à l'Empire. Son caractère privé paraît plus ou moins clair et cela fait de lui un phénomène isolé et nouveau. Néanmoins il faut rappeler qu'une dédicace *ex uoto* n'indique pas nécessairement une action religieuse pri-

vée. En fait, le texte épigraphique d'*Isaura* (n. 10) a été réalisé par un *uotum*, et c'est ainsi qu'on trouve une liaison avec l'*euocatio* même.⁸⁷ En tenant compte de tout cela et de ses similitudes avec le n. 1 on ne peut pas déterminer si le n. 2 est effectivement un document public ou privé.

On ne sait pas avec certitude si la formule fut employée à l'époque d'Auguste. Des indices indirects permettent de supposer que c'était le cas. Tite-Live l'utilise dans son œuvre (n. 14) et un vers de Virgile est à l'origine d'un commentaire de Servius où elle apparaît (n. 16).

A partir de cette période notre information est fondamentalement épigraphique et peu variée, car elle provient essentiellement des Actes des *fratres Aruale*s. Comme trait d'union entre l'époque d'Auguste et le premier texte des Actes qui conserve la formule, celle-ci a peut être été employée par Aulu-Gelle (n. 13), et encore dans un témoignage de 174 ap. J.-C. (n. 8) en relation avec une campagne militaire — vraisemblablement influencé par la formule de l'*euocatio* —. Probablement faudrait-il inclure ici aussi le document n. 9, daté par Dessau au II^e siècle ap. J.-C., dont on ne sait pas pourquoi il fut gravé.

Les références à *siue deus siue dea* dans les Actes *Arualium* commencent en 183/84 (n. 4). Que la formule n'apparaisse qu'à la fin du II^e siècle attire d'autant plus l'attention qu'une somme importante de textes épigraphiques correspondant à ces Actes est conservée depuis l'époque d'Auguste. Néanmoins, il est difficile de donner une réponse satisfaisante à ce problème; acceptons-le pour l'heure comme un fait du hasard. D'autre part l'existence des numéros 13, 9 et surtout du 8 rend vraisemblable la continuité de l'emploi de la formule. Les Actes des *fratres Aruale*s nous transmettent l'utilisation de *siue deus siue dea* en 218 (n. 5), 224 (n. 6) et, finalement, encore une fois vers 224 (n. 7).

C'est alors la dernière fois que l'emploi de la formule préventive est attesté avec certitude. Cependant, il est probable qu'elle s'est maintenue jusqu'à la fin de ce siècle, d'après ce que l'on peut déduire de n. 11.

Par conséquent, en suivant un critère large, on pourrait conclure que la formule *siue deus siue dea* commença à être utilisée par les Romains au début du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. et disparut vers 300 ap.

J.-C. Cette longue période de temps connaît seulement quelques lacunes, du milieu du IV^e siècle à la première moitié du II^e siècle av. J.-C. — ce qui coïncide, paradoxalement, avec la période d'emploi maximum de l'*euocatio* — et de la fin de l'époque républicaine jusqu'au milieu du II^e siècle ap. J.-C., sans qu'on puisse affirmer que la formule n'était alors pas en usage.

IV. *Contextes d'emploi de la formule*

Après l'analyse chronologique il ne reste qu'à essayer de préciser dans quelles circonstances on employait la formule *siue deus siue dea*.

Avant tout il faut signaler le lien entre cette formule et l'*euocatio*. Si l'hypothèse que j'ai défendue un peu plus haut sur la véritable prière prononcée par Camille devant Veies est correcte, la première fois que fut employée la formule, ce fut dans le contexte de l'*euocatio* et ce rapport devait se maintenir longtemps. En 349 av. J.-C. *Marcus Valerius Maximus* prononça la formule lors de son affrontement avec les Gaulois (n. 14). Je considère que dans la recréation littéraire de Tite-Live il faut voir une véritable *euocatio* d'après laquelle on prie les dieux ennemis d'être favorables aux Romains. Après l'invocation, ceux-ci attendaient le signe du consentement divin (ainsi... *praepositi sitis ut sciamus intellegamusque* dans l'*euocatio* de Carthage, n. 15) et en cette occasion l'accord ne pouvait pas être plus évident: le corbeau se pose sur le casque du héros Romain.

Dans cette première étape de l'emploi il y a un cas qui ne paraît pas avoir de relation avec l'*euocatio*. Je pense au texte de Caton (n. 12) sur la mise en culture d'un bois. Cependant, je crois que la fonction est la même dans les deux cas, car le but poursuivi est que la divinité abandonne sa demeure habituelle, afin d'obtenir une désacralisation de l'endroit. J'ai déjà attiré l'attention sur le fait que les bois sont normalement sous la protection des génies et on peut soupçonner qu'avec les cités il se passait quelque chose de semblable (par exemple: *Genio urbis Romae...*, n. 16). Je pense que sous l'invocation *si deus, si dea est* du *carmen* du 146 av. J.-C. (n. 15) il ne faut pas chercher Tanit ou Baal-Hammon, ni même une autre divinité précise, mais l'idée d'un être supérieur protecteur de Carthage que les Romains traduisent par *genius*. Donc, la distance apparente entre les cas d'*euocatio* et le texte 12 est finalement consi-

dérablement réduite et l'on observe une étroite unité d'emploi dans la formule, dûe à la rigueur formelle de ses origines. Inutile de répéter que le n. 15 est une *euocatio*; c'est ainsi que des origines jusqu'à 146 av. J.-C. au moins, le cadre d'emploi est uniforme.

En suivant le critère de l'ordre chronologique, il faut maintenant analyser le n. 1. On ignore les circonstances qui concourent à l'emploi de la formule. Il existe quelques similitudes avec les n. 2 et n. 3, qui ne doivent pas être éloignés chronologiquement et avec lesquels on peut faire un groupe relativement homogène. Quant au n. 1 on a déjà vu qu'il s'agit d'un document public, mais il manque une partie qui, mentionnée, peut nous aider à voir le jour. *C. Sextius Caluinus* conclut, en 124 av. J.-C. les campagnes que *Fulvius Flaccus* avait commencées contre les Salviens et les Ligures à la demande de Marseille.⁸⁸

Ces campagnes furent postérieures à sa préture de 127, qui est mentionnée dans le texte épigraphique, mais si on a présenté à l'esprit que le texte parvenu jusqu'à nous n'est qu'une restitution, il y a alors la possibilité d'une erreur, et la formule isolée *sei deo sei deiuae sacrum* peut être en relation justement avec l'activité belliqueuse de notre personnage et non avec sa préture. Que la solution soit difficile à admettre, j'en conviens, mais elle offre la possibilité de comprendre totalement l'utilisation de la formule dans ce cas apparemment si étonnant et son emploi peut alors être associé à des actions béllico-religieuses, comme par exemple, l'*euocatio*. Les énoncés des n. 2 et 3 sont similaires, mais ils sont dépourvus de toute information permettant de savoir s'il s'agit de manifestations publiques ou privées. Pour le n. 3 je dois souligner que l'inscription fut faite *ex uoto*. Dans deux autres cas est mentionné de façon délibérée le mot *uotum* (n. 10, dans le contexte d'une *euocatio*, et n. 8 motivé par une expédition probablement militaire). Je ne veux cependant pas dire que le n. 3 soit aussi en relation avec une *euocatio*, en effet *C. Terentius Denter* est un personnage inconnu, mais le cadre d'emploi qu'on est en train de dégager d'après cette analyse n'autorise plus à éloigner radicalement le n. 3 des autres cas.

Après l'*euocatio* d'*Isaura* viendrait le texte d'Aulu-Gelle (n. 13) qui fait référence aux tremblements de terre. Celui-ci est à mon avis de tous ceux qu'on a vus le document le plus éloigné du contexte original de la formule. Il n'est plus question de demander le déplace-

ment d'une divinité, mais de l'apaiser après la manifestation de sa puissance sous l'effet d'un phénomène naturel. L'attitude est, donc, bien différente. Dans le premier cas c'est un appel prudent aux dieux avant une action concrète. Dans le second, il s'agit d'un acte cultuel motivé par une manifestation du pouvoir divin. Dans les deux cas on ignore à quelle divinité il faut adresser la prière, mais on a déjà vu comment dans le premier cas l'être divin qui se cache sous la formule peut être considéré comme un génie. En revanche, dans le tremblement de terre on aperçoit l'activité du *numen* d'une divinité. En effet, l'essence d'un *numen* est reconnue et déterminée par les conséquences qui émanent de lui, et ainsi la peur (*timor*) est-elle canalisée à travers le *numen*. Et cela est intéressant parce qu'au *numen* appartient un *genius*, alors que l'inverse n'est pas vrai: il existe le *genius numinis*, mais l'existence d'un *numen genii* n'est pas claire, même si *genius* et *numen* peuvent être remplacés par la formule préventive (par exemple, n. 16 et 8).⁸⁹

Le cas n. 8 est profondément uni au précédent, bien que cette fois on invoque directement le *numen* (*deo siue deae numini sancto*) et non la divinité dont le *numen* a provoqué un effet déterminé.

En tout cas, je considère que ces exemples ne sont que des déviations d'une règle générale. C'est-à-dire que la formule *siue deus siue dea* naît au sein de l'*euocatio* et elle y trouve son origine. Par la suite, son fréquent emploi aurait provoqué une familiarité qui aurait permis de l'extraire de son contexte et de l'utiliser comme formule "passe-partout" dans des cas d'invocations ennuyeuses. Cet élargissement du cadre d'emploi de notre formule peut trouver un exemple avec le n. 8 même, où l'influence de l'*euocatio* serait renforcée par le fait que le dédicant est un militaire revenu d'une opération belliqueuse triomphante. Il ne serait alors pas impossible d'accepter une contamination de l'*euocatio* — et sa formulation correcte — dans les croyances religieuses du centurion Catulle.

Quant au reste, la propre invocation du n. 8 (*Genio summo Thasuni et deo siue deae numini sancto*) met en évidence la proximité de l'essence des deux divinités, qui ne sont que des êtres abstraits. J'ai déjà signalé qu'en ce sens l'emploi de la formule en apposition à *numen*, de genre neutre, est significatif. Cela veut dire qu'avec la formule *siue deus siue dea* le Romain n'hésite pas entre deux divinités précises de sexe opposé, mais qu'il est en train de donner un nom

— c'est à dire, une façon de désigner — à un être abstrait dont l'essence lui échappe. Par conséquent, je crois qu'il n'est pas correct d'essayer de chercher un théonyme connu derrière chaque emploi de la formule pour spécifier ainsi la divinité dont il s'agit (comme on a fait, par exemple, avec Tanit ou Baal-Hammon à propos du n. 15), car une telle idée était tout à fait éloignée de la pensée de celui qui faisait la prière.

Un problème à part est l'ensemble documentaire provenant des Actes *Arualium* (n. 4, 5, 6 et 7). D'une part on applique la formule au génie du bois sacré; sous cette acception la parenté avec le texte de Caton (n. 12) est évidente, mais il ressemble aussi au n. 8. D'autre part, *sive deus sive dea* s'adresse à une divinité inconnue, qui nécessairement est différente du *genius* du bois, même si dans les deux cas on offre deux brebis. La cause du sacrifice, dans le n. 4, est le besoin d'arracher un figuier du toit du temple de la *dea Dia*. Il est possible que le dieu ou la déesse invoqué soit celui dont le *numen* a provoqué la naissance de l'arbrisseau et en ce sens l'invocation serait liée à la série qui demandait un déplacement de la divinité. Je ne crois pas que sous la formule il soit nécessaire de voir le reste des dieux et des déesses non mentionnés spécifiquement dans le texte, aussi bien à cause de la place que la formule occupe dans le contexte, que — selon ce que j'ai déjà signalé à propos du n. 15 — parce qu'il aurait été plus logique de trouver une formule du type *diis deabusque*. Le n. 5 n'offre pas de nouveautés par rapport au n. 4.

Cependant, dans le n. 6 on trouve une différence essentielle, car au lieu d'offrir *sive deo sive deae* deux brebis, cette fois on sacrifie deux moutons (*uerbeces II*). La raison du sacrifice est d'obtenir la restitution de certains arbres qui avaient été brûlés au cours d'une tempête. J'ai observé qu'à des divinités masculines on sacrifie toujours des animaux mâles, tandis qu'à des divinités féminines ce sont des femelles que l'on immole. Cela met en évidence que, déjà au III^e siècle ap. J.-C., la formule n'avait plus un caractère abstrait, mais celui qui faisait l'offrande sacrifiait une victime correspondant au sexe qu'il pensait être celui de la divinité invoquée. En conséquence, il semble qu'à ce moment là, le cadre d'emploi initial a déjà disparu et que la formule peut être utilisée dans des contextes très différents. Néanmoins on ne peut pas oublier que l'immolation de brebis et de moutons est liée à la destruction des arbres, qui sont

sous la tutèle des génies⁹⁰ et qu'ils peuvent avoir leurs propres *numina*. Par conséquent, indépendamment du fait qu'on sacrifie des mâles ou des femelles, dans les derniers moments d'utilisation de la formule, l'idée qu'elle remplace un être abstrait qui n'a pas besoin d'être davantage précisé est encore sous-jacente.

En définitive, je pense que la formule *sive deus sive dea* ne remplace pas un théonyme, mais qu'elle s'applique quand l'individu doit se référer à un être divin neutre (*numen*) ou de sexe impossible à déterminer.

On peut affirmer qu'il y a une très grande affinité entre cette formule et l'*ágnostos theós*, le "dieu inconnu" grec qui eut son propre culte, comme divinité indépendante qu'il fallait vénérer. La formulation même: *sive deus sive dea / ágnostos theós* rend évident l'abîme existant entre la capacité d'abstraction conceptuelle des Grecs et celle des Romains.⁹¹

Dpto. Historia Antigua,
Facultad de Geografía e Historia,
Universidad Complutense,
28040 Madrid

JAIME ALVAR

Je veux remercier le Dr. J. Mangas et M. A. Domínguez pour les observations qu'ils ont bien voulu me communiquer. Mlle. Nuria Morère, Dr. P. Le Roux et Mlle. Agnès Pelletier ont eu la patience d'améliorer le texte français, qu'ils reçoivent aussi ma gratitude. Naturellement je suis le seul responsable des fautes et des erreurs que contiendrait encore le texte.

¹ Sur ces aspects, cfr. Macr., *Sat.*, III, 2. R. Schilling, "Religión Romana", *Historia Religionum*, I, Madrid, 1973, p. 436-7.

² J. Le Gall, *La religion romaine. De l'époque de Caton l'Ancien au règne de l'empereur Commode*, Paris, 1975, p. 23. Sur les *indigitamenta* voir, entre autres, Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Indigitamenta" (A. Bouché-Leclercq); *RE*, s.v. "Indigitamenta" (Richter); G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München, 1971 (1912), p. 37 ss.; P. Boyancé, "Les origines de la religion romaine. Théories et recherches récentes", *IL*, 7, 1955, p. 101 (recueilli dans *Etudes sur la Religion Romaine*, Roma, 1972, p. 3 ss.); K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1960, p. 43 ss; G. Dumézil, *La Religion Romaine archaïque*, Paris, 1966, p. 49 ss.; G. B. Pighi, *La religione romana*, Torino, 1967, pp. 46 ss.; etc.

³ Voir, en plus de ce qu'on a cité dans la note antérieure, A. von Domaszewski, "Dei certi und dei incerti", *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1909, pp. 155-170 (cet article avait déjà été publié dans l'*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 10, 1-17).

⁴ Macrobr., *Sat.*, III, 9, 10: "*Dis pater Veiovis Manes, sive uos quo alio nomine fas est nominare*". Serv., *Aen.*, II, 351: *Pontifices ita precabantur: "Iuppiter optime maxime, sive quo alio nomine te appellari uolueris"*. Apul., *Met.* XI, 2: "... quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu,

quaqua facie te fas est inuocare...''. Cette formule apparaît aussi dans des monuments épigraphiques. À Arretium, à côté d'une fontaine ferrugineuse, fut trouvée en 1869 une *tabella plumbea* inscrite sur deux colonnes, qui fut publiée dans le *CIL*, XI, 1823 et dont le texte est le suivant:

*Q. Letinium Lupum qui et vocatur Caucadio, qui est
fi[lius] Sallusti[es Vene]ries siue Ven[e]rioses,
hunc ego apud uostrum numen demando deuoueo desacrifico, uti uos, Aquae feruentes,
siu[e] uos
Nimfas [si]ue quo alio nomine uoltis adpe[l]lari,
uti uos eum interemates interficiates intra annum...*

(la première colonne termine à *uostrum* et la deuxième commence à *numen*).

⁵ Par exemple, R. Schilling, “*Dea dia* dans la liturgie des frères Arvales”, *Hommages à M. Renard. Coll. Latomus*, 102, t. 2, 1969, p. 675 ss. P. Boyancé, *loc. cit.* (note 2), p. 5 ss. M. Delcourt, *Hermafroditea. Recherches sur l'être double promoteur de la fertilité dans le monde classique*, (*Coll. Latomus*, 86), 1966. Etc.

⁶ Voir, par exemple, la bibliographie des notes 2 et 3.

⁷ T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I, New York, 1951, p. 511.

⁸ Broughton, *MRR*, I, p. 507.

⁹ I, 2², 801.

¹⁰ Cic., *Brut.*, 130. *De Orat.*, 2, 249.

¹¹ *RE*, s.v. “*Sextius*”, n. 20 et 21 (Münzer).

¹² Broughton, *MRR* II, p. 18.

¹³ Dessau, *ILS*, 4015.

¹⁴ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, t. III, 2ème partie, Graz, 1953, p. 1136, n. 3.

¹⁵ Broughton, *MRR*, II, p. 18.

¹⁶ Vid. n. 11.

¹⁷ Cfr., par exemple, M. Bassols, *Fonética Latina*, Madrid, 1962, p. 70-71.

¹⁸ *CIL*, I., 632. Pour la localisation il cite Becker, *top.*, p. 224.

¹⁹ Liu. 5, 32, 6; Cic., *diu.*, 1, 101; Varro *ap.* Gell., 16, 7, 2.

²⁰ À cet endroit il cite Lanciani, *bull. com.*, 1894, p. 33.

²¹ *ILS*, 4017.

²² *CIL*, 1, 632: “*Inscriptio a C. Sextio repetita omnino antiquissima est, cum deuia ibi legatur non dea, quod praeterea reperiri solet in hac formula*”.

²³ *CIL*, VI, 111. Dessau *ILS*, 4018.

²⁴ *CIL*, VI, 6, 1.

²⁵ Que servent comme exemples *Statio Deuteris* (*CIL*, XII, 3928), provenant de la Gaule Narbonnaise, ou *Pompeus Deuterius* (*CIL*, VIII, 2403), de la Numidie.

²⁶ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965, p. 389.

²⁷ Kajanto, *LC*, p. 130 et 389.

²⁸ Il suffit de signaler *M. Octavius Dento* (*CIL*, XII, 4692), de la Gaule Narbonnaise, ou *Salvia Denta* (*CIL*, VIII, 7700), *P. Sittius Dento* (*CIL*, VIII, 7117), tous les deux de la Numidie. Un cas suffisamment connu est celui de *L. Caecilius Metellus Denter*, qui fut consul en 284 av. J.-C. (Broughton, *MRR*, I, p. 187), ou celui de *M. Liuius Denter*, consul en 302 av. J.-C. (Broughton, *MRR*, I, p. 169). Ou bien, le plus connu de tous: *M. Curius Dentatus*, consul en 290 av. J.-C., vainqueur des Samnites et créateur de la colonie *Sena Gallica* (Broughton, *MRR*, I, p. 183; *RE*, “*Curius*”, 9, Münzer).

²⁹ Kajanto, *LC*, p. 130 et dans la page 224 situe *C. Terentius Denter* à côté des deux premiers consuls qui sont mentionnés dans la note antérieure.

³⁰ *Ioui berbeces II altilaneos* (*CIL*, VI, 2099, I 24); *Iunoni deae Diae oues II* (*ibidem*, II 1); *Virginibus diuis oues II*; *Famulis diuis uerbeces duos*; *Laribus uerbeces duos* (*ibidem*, II 2); *Matri Larum oues duas* (*ibidem*, II 3); etc. Pour citer un exemple d'un autre épigraphie inclus aussi dans cette sélection: *Ioui uerbeces numero II*; *Iunoni deae Diae oues numero II* (*CIL*, VI, 2104a).

³¹ Cfr., *CIL*, VIII, 21567.

³² M. Benabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*, Paris, 1976, p. 151.

³³ Sur cette magistrature voir *RE*, s.v. “*Rex sacrorum*” (Rosenberg).

³⁴ *CIL*, XIV, 2634.

³⁵ Cfr. *CIL*, XIV, 2634; 2089; VI, 2125; X, 8417; XI, 1610; etc.

³⁶ *CIL*, XIV, 2634.

³⁷ Sur ce problème, *RE*, loc. cit., col. 726.

³⁸ *CIL*, VI, 2125.

³⁹ *CIL*, XI, 1610.

⁴⁰ *CIL*, XLV, 2089.

⁴¹ A. Hall, “New Light on the Capture of Isaura Vetus by P. Servilius Vatia”, *Akten des 6. Int. Kongr. f. griech. u. lat. Epigr.* (1972), München, 1974, *Vestigia* 17, p. 568-571.

⁴² *P. Seruilius Vatia* fut consul en 79 av. J.-C. Il dirigea la campagne de la Cilicie comme proconsul. Il fut acclamé *Imperator* (p. ex. *CIL*, I², 2, 741; Cic., *Verr.* 2, 1, 56 et 4, 2, etc.) et prit le *cognomen Isauricus* (p. ex. *CIL*, I², 2, 741; Ouid., *Fast.*, I, 593; Str., 12, 6, 2, etc.). Cfr. Broughton, *MRR*, II, p. 99.

⁴³ Macrob., *Sat.*, III, 9, 6-8.

⁴⁴ Broughton, *MRR*, II, p. 620.

⁴⁵ J. Le Gall, ““*Evocatio*””, *Mélanges Heurgon*, I, Roma, 1976, p. 520. Sur le rituel de l'*euocatio* voir, en plus, R. Bloch, “La religion romaine”, dans *Historia de las Religiones S. XXI; Las Religiones Antiguas*, vol. III, Madrid, 1977, p. 246 ss. et spécialement, pour une consulte plus ample, V. Basanoff, *Evocatio. Étude d'un rituel militaire romain*, Paris, 1947.

⁴⁶ Ed. C. Marchesi dans *Corpus Scriptorum Paravianum*, Torino, 1953.

⁴⁷ Ed. G. Goetz dans *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, Leipzig, 1922.

⁴⁸ La composition du *De agricultura* aurait eu lieu autour du 180 av. J.-C. Cfr. R. Goujard (ed.), *Caton. De l'agriculture*, Paris, 1975, p. XXXIII.

⁴⁹ Macrob., *Sat.*, III, 9, 6-8.

⁵⁰ Cfr. le n. 10 de ce *corpus*.

⁵¹ Ed. M. Mignon, *Aulu-Gelle. Les Nuits Attiques*, Paris, 1934.

⁵² Cfr., p.ex., R. Marache (ed.), *Aulu-Gelle. Les Nuits Attiques*, Paris, 1967, p. X.

⁵³ H. M. Hornsby (ed.), *A. Gelli Noctium Atticarum Liber I*, Dublin, 1936, p. XIV.

⁵⁴ Cfr., p.ex., n. 4 de ce même catalogue.

⁵⁵ Cfr., p.ex., J. Bayet, *Literatura Latina*, Madrid, 1970, p. 196.

⁵⁶ Ed. J. Bayet, *Tite-Live. Histoire Romaine*, t. VII, Paris, 1968.

⁵⁷ Cfr. Broughton, *MRR*, II, p. 630.

⁵⁸ Cfr. J. M. André et A. Hus, *La historia en Roma*, Madrid, 1983, p. 99 ss.

⁵⁹ Cfr., p.ex., J. Bayet, *Lit. lat.*, p. 256.

⁶⁰ Par exemple, numéro 10 de ce *corpus*.

⁶¹ En ce sens l'exemple le plus semblable serait le n. 3 de ce *corpus*.

⁶² Voir à ce propos J. Le Gall, ““*Evocatio*””, *Mélanges Heurgon*, I, Roma, 1976, p. 524.

⁶³ Sur Lug voir J. de Vries, “L’aspect magique de la religion celtique”, *Ogam*, X, 1958, p. 273 ss. et du même auteur, *Keltische Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 40-75.

⁶⁴ On ne comprend pas mieux, non plus, le contenu du texte en interprétant que la divinité invoquée par *Marcus Valerius* soit Apollon. Il est certain que le corbeau est un des animaux associés à cette divinité (Cfr. p.ex., P. Grimal, *Diccionario de mitología griega y romana*, s.v. “Apolo”, Barcelona, 1981) et qu’Apollon lui-même participe activement aux combats narrés dans l’*Iliade*, mais il est difficile d’accepter qu’un Romain, vers la moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C., adresse sa prière à cette divinité. Le corbeau s’associe en général à des divinités de caractère solaire, probablement par la conversion du corbeau en astre (cfr., p. ex., A. Ruiz de Elvira, *Mitología Clásica*, Madrid, 1975, p. 486) mais cette voie ne mène pas non plus à une solution acceptable pour le problème posé dans le texte de Tite-Live.

⁶⁵ J. Willis (ed.), *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobii. Saturnalia*, Leipzig, 1963.

⁶⁶ Cfr. p.ex., J. Bayet, *Lit. lat.*, p. 494.

⁶⁷ J. Le Gall, *La religion romaine*, p. 50.

⁶⁸ Le Gall, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Sur les autres cas d’*euocatio* cfr. J. le Gall, “«Evocatio»”, *Mélanges Heurpon*, I, Roma, 1976, pp. 519-520. Que l’*euocatio* fût très fréquente peut se vérifier sur la liste qu’offre Macrobre lui-même, comme à juste titre le signale Le Gall, “«Evocatio»”, p. 524. Cfr., en plus, Pline, *N.H.*, XXVIII, 18.

⁶⁹ Cfr. Le Gall, *loc. cit.*, p. 521. Ici Le Gall suit — quoique sans le citer — G. B. Pighi, *La religione romana*, Torino, 1967, p. 70. *Sammonicus Serenus* fut un érudit du début du III^e siècle, qui avait écrit un poème didactique sur *Medicina* (cfr. J. Bayet, *Lit. Lat.*, p. 442, n. 2).

⁷⁰ Le Gall, “«Evocatio»”, p. 521-22.

⁷¹ Seru., *Aen.*, II, 351. Cfr. le n. 16 de ce *corpus*. Sur *genius* il est indispensable d’utiliser la monographie de H. Kunckel, *Der römische Genius*, Heidelberg, 1974.

⁷² Pline, *N.H.*, XXVIII, 18. Plus loin, dans la note 75, on reproduit le texte. En plus du texte de Servius mentionné dans la note ci-dessus.

⁷³ Le Gall, *loc. cit.*, p. 522.

⁷⁴ J. Bayet (ed.), *Tite-Live. Histoire Romaine*, t. V, Paris, 1984.

⁷⁵ *Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit, quibus credat in oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Romanis sacerdotibus euocari deum cuius in tutela id oppidum esset, promittique illi eundem aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum. Et durat in pontificum disciplina id sacrum, constatque ideo occultatum in cuius dei tutela Roma esset, ne qui hostium simili modo agerent.* Pline, *N.H.*, XXVIII, 18 (ed. A. Ernout, Paris, 1962). Cfr. Le Gall, *Loc. cit.*, p. 520 et 522.

Comme addition marginale à cette discussion, on peut signaler que l’argument de l’occultation du nom de la divinité tutélaire de Rome est très candide, car évidemment l’ennemi peut employer une formule qui “rompt l’obscurité”, comme le faisaient les Romaines, avec la tournure *sive deo sive deae in cuius tutela Roma est...*

⁷⁶ E. K. Rand et alii (eds.), *Servianorum in Vergili carmina commentariorum*, editionis Harvardiana, vol. II, Lancaster (Pennsylvania), 1946.

⁷⁷ Cfr., p. ex., Bayet, *Lit. Lat.*, p. 494.

⁷⁸ Broughton, *MRR*, II, p. 68.

⁷⁹ AUG., *Ciu. Dei*, VII, 9.

⁸⁰ AUG., *Ciu. Dei*, VII, 9. G. Bardy (ed.), *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin. Cinquième série. La cité de Dieu*. Texte de la 4^e éd. de B. Bombart et A. Kalb, Bibliothèque Augustinienne, s.l., 1959.

⁸¹ Seru., *Aen.*, 1, 227. ROMANOSQUE SVO DE NOMINE DICET perite non ait ‘Romam’, sed *Romanos*. Urbis enim illius uerum nomen nemo uel in sacris enuntiat.

denique tribunus plebei quidam, Valerius Soranus, ut ait Varro et multi alii, quia hoc nomen ausus est enuntiare, ut quidam dicunt, raptus a Senatu et in crucem leuatus est, ut alii, metu supplicii fugit et in Sicilia comprehensus a praetore praecepto senatus occisus est. hoc autem urbis ne Hyginus quidem, cum de situ urbis loqueretur, expressit.

⁸² Plin., *N.H.*, III, 65.

...superque Roma ipsa, cuius nomen alterum dicere nisi arcanis caerimoniarum nefas habetur optimaque et salutari fide abolitum enuntiauit Valerius Soranus luitque mox poenas. namque diua Augerona, cui sacrificatur a.d. XII kal. Ian., ore obligato obsignatoque simulacrum habet. (C. Mayhoff, ed., *C. Plinii Secundi. Naturalis Historiae*, Bibliotheca Teubneriana. Leipzig, 1906).

⁸³ Sol., I, 4. Le contenu de ce texte est presque le même que l'antérieur.

⁸⁴ Cfr. M. Pallotino, *Etruscologia*, Milano, 1982, p. 242. H. Kunckel, *Der römische Genius*, Heidelberg, 1974, p. 12.

⁸⁵ Cfr. V. Basanoff, *Evocatio. Étude d'un rituel militaire romain*, Paris, 1947, p. 198. Pighi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁸⁶ Basanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 141; G. Dumézil, *Rituels indo-européens à Rome*, Paris, 1954, p. 47; Pighi, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁸⁷ Cfr. à ce propos Le Gall, *loc. cit.*, p. 521.

⁸⁸ RE, s.v. "Sextius", numéro 20 (Münzer). J. M. Roldán, *La República Romana*, Madrid, 1981, p. 424.

⁸⁹ Sur la relation entre *numen* et *genius* voir RE, s.v. "Numen", n. 12 (Pfiester). Quant à *numen*, cfr. W. Pötscher, "Numen und numen Augusti", *ANRW*, II, 16.1, p. 355-392.

⁹⁰ Est intéressant, en ce sens, le passage de Servius (*Aen.*, V, 85): *nullus locus sine genio*.

⁹¹ Sur l'ágnostos theós voir p. ex. *Der Kleine Pauly*, Band 1, p. 134, s.v. *Agnostos Theos*.

NIETZSCHE UND DER BUDDHISMUS*

(*Review article*)

JÖRG SALAQUARDA

Seit zu Begin des 19. Jahrhunderts Schopenhauer, Schelling und andere ein größeres Publikum auf östliche Religionen und Philosophien hinwiesen, haben die Kenntnis der einschlägigen Texte, die Verlässlichkeit und Güte der Übersetzungen und das Ausmaß der darauf verwendeten Gelehrsamkeit zwar ständig zugenommen, die Probleme der Rezeption sind aber im wesentlichen unverändert geblieben. Die meisten Rezipienten stürzen sich auf sie, als auf etwas Exotisches, Prickelndes, Neues. Wenn sie es nicht alsbald wieder vergessen, fügen sie es den Versatzstücken ihres Bildungswissens bei. Das kann sich auf verschiedenen Ebenen abspielen, Gelehrte sind keineswegs immun dagegen. Nietzsche hat in seiner *Zweiten Unzeitgemäßen Betrachtung* die “historischen Virtuosen” (seiner) Gegenwart geschildert, bei denen er sich frage, warum sie sich eher mit einem Philosophen als mit einem Dichter beschäftigen und was sie dazu veranlaßt habe, jemanden aus dem 17. Jahrhundert jemandem anderen aus dem 3. vorzuziehen. Innere Affinität könne es jedenfalls nicht gewesen sein, denn ihre Beschäftigung habe keine Folgen für ihr Leben, die Ergebnisse blieben aufgesetzte Maskerade. Ein Jahrhundert später hatte E. Benz wohl dasselbe Phänomen im Blick, wenn er seiner kleinen Schrift *Zen in westlicher Sicht* den Untertitel “Zen-Buddhismus—Zen-Snobismus” gab.

Eine Rezeption, die diesen Namen wirklich verdient, findet nur dann statt, wenn bei der Begegnung mit anderen Traditionen Gedanken entdeckt werden, die man selbst gedacht hat. Gerade dann wird man freilich auch die Verschiedenheit der “Denkwege” bemerken und sich, wie z.B. M. Heidegger, nur zurückhaltend und

*Freny Mistry, *Nietzsche and Buddhism. Prolegomenon to a Comparative Study* (Monographien und Texte zur Nietzsche-Forschung, hg. von E. Behler, M. Montinari, W. Müller-Lauter, H. Wenzel, Bd. 6) Berlin und New York, de Gruyter, 1981, 211 S., DM 82.-

mit Vorsicht auf ein Gespräch einlassen. Eine “vergleichende Studie” lohnt sich, strenggenommen, nur im zweiten Fall. Bleibt die Rezeption vordergründig und äußerlich, dann lassen sich im Nachhinein höchstens ‘Einflüsse’ aufzeigen. Spannend und weiterführend wird es nur, wenn sich bei aller Verschiedenheit der Traditionen ähnliche oder gleiche Absichten und Lösungen herausstellen lassen. Nietzsches Buddhismus-Rezeption ist nach Mistris These diesem Typus zuzurechnen: “... the intention of this study is to investigate the proximity of spiritual outlook in Nietzsche and the Buddha, both of whom, despite marked differences in expression and perspective, showed complementary ways to self-redemption. ... Methodically, the present investigation examines affinities and divergences in the philosophies of Nietzsche and the Buddha from a thematic perspective” (S. 4f).

Daß der andere Weg in die Irre führt, zeigt das einzige vorher zu diesem Thema erschienene Buch (M. Ladner, *Nietzsche und der Buddhismus*, Zürich 1933): es hatte sich nur an Nietzsches direkten Äußerungen über Buddha, Buddhismus und buddhistische Grundbegriffe wie Nirvana orientiert und war zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, daß Nietzsche gegen ein Zerrbild buddhistischer Religion und Philosophie kämpfte. Ganz abgesehen davon, daß Ladner die Quellen von Nietzsches Kenntnis des Buddhismus zu wenig beachtet hat (Mistry behandelt diese Frage zwar immer nur am Rande, aber mit souveräner Sachkenntnis und großem Geschick; vgl. die Hinweise Introduction, S. 12-17) und das gesamte geistige Klima, in dem Nietzsche schrieb, außer acht ließ—sein Hauptfehler liegt darin, daß er sich auf Nietzsches eigenes Denken überhaupt nicht eingelassen hat, daher auch nicht fähig war, über seine Nähe oder Ferne zum Buddhismus zu urteilen.

Mistry ist, ganz im Gegenteil, dazu besonders befähigt, von ihren Studien und von ihren intellektuellen Fähigkeiten her wie auch durch ihre persönlichen Voraussetzungen. Sie ist—sie war, muß leider gesagt werden; denn sie starb im Januar 1982 an den Folgen eines Verkehrsunfalls, der sie aus der Abfassung einer Parallelstudie über *Schopenhauer and Buddhismus* riß (vgl. ihren im 64. Schopenhauer-Jb. 1983 abgedruckten Vortrag *Der Buddhist liest Schopenhauer*, in dem sie vorläufige Ergebnisse zu diesem Thema formulierte). Sie war also als Mensch und Gelehrte eine Synthese von östlicher und

westlicher Religion und Kultur. Sie hat am Parsismus ihrer Vorfahren festgehalten, war aber auch tief vom katholischen Christentum und vom Buddhismus geprägt. Durch den häufigen Ortswechsel ihrer Eltern, die im diplomatischen Dienst Indiens tätig waren, mußte sie sich von Kindheit an in verschiedenen Kulturen und Sprachen zurechtfinden. Sie liebte die universale Sprache der Musik, eine Laufbahn als Pianistin hätte ihr offen gestanden. Sie studierte Deutsche Literatur, Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft und Philosophie. Sie hatte die Weite und Aufgeschlossenheit eines wahren Weltbürgers, manchmal auch die Trauer des nirgends ganz Heimischen. Ihr, wenn irgendjemandem, konnte es gelingen, hinter Nietzsches vordergründige Ablehnung des "weltflüchtigen" Buddhismus die genuin buddhistischen Züge seines eigenen Denkens zu entdecken.

Mistry entfaltet ihre These in 5 Kapiteln. Im ersten ("The overcoming of metaphysics and nihilism", S. 19ff.) stellt sie Nietzsches tiefe Verwandtschaft zur buddhistischen Kritik an allen metaphysischen Regelsystemen dar, denen positiv die gemeinsame Zuwendung zur empirischen Realität entspricht, Nietzsches "gute Nachbarschaft zu den nächsten Dingen". In diesem Zusammenhang diskutiert sie auch Nietzsches "Überwindung des Nihilismus", deren Kern eben darin besteht, daß das Durchschauen des Setzungs- und Werkzeugcharakters von Sprache, Logik, Moral etc. nicht zur Lähmung, sondern zu einer großen Befreiung führt.

Im zweiten Kapitel ("The analysis of personality and universe" S. 51ff.) geht es zunächst um den Kampf des historischen Buddha und Nietzsches gegen die substantielle Auffassung des menschlichen Ich. "The 'ego-centric' vantage point intrinsic to the substance views of reality is attacked by both philosophers in a dialectic which declares human 'individuality' to be a fictitious representation and which offers an interpretation of man attuned to the empirical framework of impermanence" (S. 51). Mistry stellt hier Nietzsches Auffassung des Menschen und der Welt insgesamt als Spiel von Kraftzentren dar, die seiner Wille-zur-Macht-Lehre zugrunde liegt, und konfrontiert sie mit der buddhistischen Lehre von den Elementen, die das Leiden konstituieren. Trotz aller Unterschiede (etwa Nietzsches Ablehnung einer moralischen Betrachtung gegen die Vorstellung von der Wiederverkörperung im Buddhismus)

überwiegen ihrer Meinung nach auch hier die Gemeinsamkeiten, was sich besonders in der entschiedenen Verwerfung der objektiven Gültigkeit des Ursache-Wirkung-Schemas zeigt.

Das 3. Kapitel (“The experiment with truth and reason,” S. 80ff.) stellt Konsequenzen aus dem zuvor Behandelten dar. Nietzsche und der Buddha haben sich beide kritisch gegen den Essentialismus der von ihnen vorgefundenen philosophischen Traditionen gewandt. Im Zusammenhang damit haben sie schon die Möglichkeit einer an sich bestehenden Wahrheit verworfen, die Menschen offenbart und von ihnen im Glauben erfaßt werden könnte. Dementsprechend sind auch die Epistemologien der beiden Denker sehr ähnlich. Menschenmögliches Erkennen ist Sache des ganzen Menschen, nicht nur der Vernunft; ist perspektivisch, d.h. in vieler Hinsicht relativ und nie absolut; ist etwas, das ständig neu zu erringen ist und nie Besitz wird. Mehr noch als in den anderen Kapiteln bewährt sich in diesem Mistrys kritische Vorsicht. Sie läßt sich durch Nietzsches scharfe Polemik gegen die (isiolierte) Vernunft nicht dazu verleiten, ihn als Irrationalisten abzustempeln, wie es so oft geschehen ist, sondern arbeitet deutlich heraus, welche große Bedeutung er der Vernunft für das “Experiment mit der Wahrheit” zuweist — freilich, wie der Buddha, einer endlichen und interessierten Vernunft. Die Autorin weist zurecht auch darauf hin, daß die epistemologischen Parallelen ihren Niederschlag in sehr ähnlichen pädagogischen Anweisungen finden, die nie primär auf Vermittlung von Wissen abzielen, sondern dazu dienen, das eigene Fragen und Interesse des Schülers zu erwecken.

Dem Kapitel IV, “On suffering” (S. 109ff.), kommt natürlich eine Schlüsselrolle zu. Da die Einsicht in das Leiden und die Frage seiner Überwindung zum Kern des Buddhismus führen, während Nietzsche das Kreisen um das Leid in allen seinen Formen, ob buddhistisch, christlich oder humanistisch, hart attackiert hat, muß sich hier erweisen, wie weit Mistrys These haltbar ist. Die Autorin stellt zunächst überzeugend heraus, daß Nietzsche durch seine hauptsächlichen Quellen (bes. Köppen und Schopenhauer sind hier zu nennen) den Buddhismus als weltflüchtige, lebensverneinende und nihilistische Lehre kennengelernt hat. Man dürfe daher seine Polemiken nicht überbewerten: “... it is not Buddhism which he psychologically flagellates, but the warm if ambivalent reception of

a philosophy only half-understood in his times” (S. 115). Sieht man genauer zu, dann bestreitet Nietzsche nicht die fundamentale Einsicht des Buddha, daß Sein Leiden ist, sondern kämpft nur gegen die Konsequenz, die dieser angeblich daraus gezogen hat, nämlich nicht oder möglichst wenig zu leben, um nicht oder möglichst wenig zu leiden. In einer sorgfältigen Interpretation des zentralen Begriffs—*dukkha*—stellt Mistry klar, daß er in den europäischen Sprachen nicht durch einen einzigen Begriff adäquat wiedergegeben werden kann. Neben Unvollkommenheit, Vergänglichkeit, Leiden, Schmerz etc. schwingen auch Bedeutungen wie Freude und Glück mit. Zusammenfassend kommt die Autorin zu dem Schluß: “Buddhism ... affirms what Nietzsche himself did,—that pain and pleasure are concomitant symptoms, perennial and active forces in the realisation of spiritual autonomy and power” (S. 123). Sie lässt es freilich nicht bei dieser allgemeinen Aussage bewenden, sondern geht auch den Ambivalenzen und Brüchen in Nietzsches expliziten Stellungnahmen zum Buddhismus nach, wobei sie zu überraschenden Einsichten durchdringt, etwa hinsichtlich seiner Auffassungen von Mitleid und Freundschaft.

Nietzsches Wiederkunftslehre hat seinen Interpreten Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Wenn Mistry das 5. Kapitel ihres Buchs “The ethics of Eternal Recurrence” nennt (S. 139ff. Hervorhebung von mir), dann macht sie deutlich, daß die Lehre ihrer Auffassung nach nicht primär als kosmologische Theorie verstanden werden darf. Der wichtigste Unterschied zwischen dem nietzscheschen und dem buddhistischen Wiederkunftsgedanken, daß diesem zufolge *nicht* das Gleiche wiederkehrt, verliert damit an Bedeutung. Abgesehen davon sind die Übereinstimmungen offensichtlich und das Buch leistet durch ihren Aufweis einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung dieser änigmatischen Lehre.

Ein direkter Zusammenhang ist dadurch gegeben, daß Nietzsche den Gedanken von einer sinnlosen, unendlichen Repetition, von dem Zarathustra so sehr zurückgeschreckte, bei Oldenberg gefunden hat. Freilich enthält die Lehre des Buddha auch zwei Thesen, die für Nietzsches Überwindung des lähmenden Gedankens wichtig sind: die Verwerfung einer substantiell gedachten Dingheit und die Zuweisung einer inneren Qualität an alle Kräfte. Dies erlaubt es Nietzsche, den gegenwärtigen Augenblick, als gewollten, unmittelbar und ewig zu setzen und damit aus allen Abhängigkeiten von

Vergangenheit und Zukunft zu befreien, bzw. ihn zu erlösen. Nietzsche spricht von seinem *amor fati*, dessen Ausdruck die Wiederkunftslehre seit. Er ist damit, ohne es selbst zu wissen, dem genuinen Buddhismus sehr nahe, denn: "If buddhism is to be described as 'fatalistic' at all then it must be in the Nietzschean sense in which fate necessitates self-overcoming within the present existence" (S. 162.).

Das letzte Kapitel (VI "The transfiguration of suffering and nirvana", S. 166ff.) dient als Zusammenfassung und Probe aufs Exempel, indem es den umstrittenen Begriff *nirvana* ins Licht rückt. Wieder muß zunächst eine Spannung konstatiert werden, weil Nietzsche *nirvana* als eine Zielvorstellung der Schwachen versteht und vehement zurückweist. Aber auch in diesem Fall kann Mistry zeigen, daß es die *Nirvana-Vorstellung* Schopenhauers und seiner Anhänger ist, die Nietzsche zurückweist, während das vom Buddha anvisierte *nirvana* seiner eigenen Erfahrung der inneren Zusammengehörigkeit von Leiden und Schaffen in der befreienden Tat des Übermenschen nahekommt. Denn: "Nirvana is a state in which the whole personality undergoes change, a state of mental health" (S. 192).

Freny Mistry hat ein erhellendes und faszinierendes Buch geschrieben. Meine fachliche Qualifikation reicht nicht aus, um ihre Auslegung des Buddhismus wirklich beurteilen zu können. Auf mich macht sie den Eindruck der Konsistenz und besticht durch die immer wieder angestrebte Synthese moderner Gelehrsamkeit und genuin buddhistischer Tradition. Was die Nietzsche-Interpretation betrifft, so steht sie auf der Höhe der heutigen Diskussion. Vor allem aber gelingt es der Autorin, die beiden Traditionen intensiv zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen und in einer erhellen Dialog zu bringen. Unser bisheriges Verständnis kehrt sie dabei nahezu um: Hatten wir gemeint, daß Nietzsche aus seiner Bejahung des Lebens die buddhistische Weltflüchtigkeit zurückweist, und den buddhistischen Strategien zur Vermeidung des Leidens seine Lehre von dessen Verwandlung entgegensezten, so müssen wir nun erkennen: "The transfiguration of agony through art into power enjoined by Nietzsche bears perhaps the closest approximation that any European thinker has formulated to the experience of Nirvana within Samsara." (S. 196).

BOOK REVIEWS

CERUTTI, Maria Vittoria, *Dualismo et ambiguità: creatori e creazione nella dottrina mandaia sul cosmo*—Roma, Edizioni dell'ateneo, 1981. 181 pp. L. 10000

L'auteur indique clairement dès la première page le problème qu'elle se propose de traiter, à savoir l'ambiguité des "archontes créateurs" dans la mythologie mandéenne. Cette ambiguïté est-elle liée intrinsèquement au dualisme mandéen, ou le qualifie-t-elle? De façon plus large, faut-il voir en elle un trait de tout dualisme de type gnostique? La question est pertinente, et méritait un travail. Les textes mandéens publiés dans la dernière génération, en particulier par Lady Drower, permettent aux études d'ensemble de s'appuyer sur un *corpus* étendu, et surtout varié.

L'auteur a bien compris la richesse de ces sources, et s'est efforcée de les classer: ésotériques et exotériques, doctrinales, rituelles, magiques. Ainsi les rôles respectifs des planètes, de Ruḥa, de Ptahil sont étudiés sous divers aspects, et les résultats permettent une meilleure compréhension de l'éthique et du rituel mandéen.

Malheureusement, l'ouverture promettait des thèmes qui ne sont pas repris et dont l'absence limite sérieusement la contribution de l'ouvrage. Les textes mandéens cités semblent flotter dans un univers sans frontières et sans bornes, qui rappelle les gnostiques imaginaires du *Flight to Lucifer* de Harold Bloom. Textes sans contextes ne sont que ruine de la science, pourrait-on dire pour paraphraser Montaigne. A part quelques références au démiurge valentinien et à la mythologie des Yazidis, l'auteur ne fait pas apper aux documents autres que mandéens pour éclairer ses sources. Kurt Rudolph a pourtant montré tout le profit que pouvaient tirer les études mandéennes du progrès de la recherche sur la gnose et le manichéisme dans la dernière génération.

Précisément sur le problème de l'ambiguité de la création et du (des) créateur(s), les textes mandéens auraient dû être confrontés de façon rigoureuse aux diverses conceptions gnostiques et manichéennes. Cette tâche, hélas, reste offerte à de futures recherches.

Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem

Gedaliahu G. STROUMSA

DAY, Terrence P., *The Conception of Punishment in Early Indian Literature* — Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982, 328 p.

According to Manu (VIII 313-315) a thief who approaches the king, confesses his crime, and voluntarily submits to punishment is instantly rid of his guilt. Whether the king bludgeons him or not, the thief need no longer worry about the karmic effects of his crime. Confession, corporal punishment, the royal court, and karma are here, and throughout the normative literature of ancient India, bound together in a subtle convergence of legal and religious principles.

Terrence Day attempts in this book to sort out the religious, ethical and legal dimensions of Indian normative thought by focusing on the concept of retribution. He states, above all, that punishment was "a manifestation of, or an affirmation of, a transcendent Order," or its reflection in human societies. Punishment provides Day with the conceptual key to interpreting this sacred order and organizing its ideological components into rational (Western) spheres. The author's systematic approach forces him to reject the chronological distinctiveness of central concepts and thus, to analyze *rta*, for instance, as the general and permanent metaphysical foundation of "Rightness" (his term for the moral order of the universe and human society), and as the broad sphere that encompasses *dharma* (p. 42). Consequently, the complexity of Manu's ultimate transcendence of the Vedic (*rta*) conception, in favor of a new ethic based on the four *puruṣārtha* (goals of man) and *varṇāśrama dharma*, is lost in this book. Indeed, Day's entire approach is based on the questionable assumption of a unified conception or "ideic complex" which informs "the total meaning of any retributational statement" anywhere in early Indian literature. (p. 243)

Day examines the significance of karma in the Indian conception of retribution, particularly in light of *dharma* texts that describe various forms of eschatological punishments. He proceeds to a discussion of "penal instruments of retribution" including both judicial and legal forms. Finally, his conclusion contains a useful enumeration of the primary structures in the complex of punishment. (pp. 242-243)

Terrence Day pursues a significant task here: A systematic interpretation of the subtle ideological components or nuances of *dharma* rules has escaped the labors of the noted Dharmashastra scholars of this and the previous centuries. However, his complete omission of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, exacerbated by his dependence on Western categories and definitions, accounts for the failure of his systematic reconstruction. For instance, he discusses the relation of *dharma* (here, injunction) and *danda* (punishment) in light of A. L. Goodhart's work on English law (p. 64) but fails to refer

to the *mīmāṃsā*'s astute analysis of injunctions and their precise relation to sanctions.

Day's entire system could have been organized along more indigenous lines utilizing the interpretative categories of the *mīmāṃsakas* who could readily distinguish between religious and legal rules, between binding injunctions (*vidhis*) and mere laudatory passages (*arthavādas*) such as the one cited from Manu. A Western scholar seeking a useful guide to sources on punishment with all its dimensions, or pursuing recognized distinctions among Indian concepts will not be disappointed by this book. But his ability to understand the subtlety and depth of Indian normative thought will be only marginally enhanced.

Truman Institute,
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

A. GLUCKLICH

ULLENDORFF, Edward, and C. F. BECKINGHAM, *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John*—Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, XIII, 252pp.
£12.00

The Hebrew Letters of Prester John represent only one chapter in the complicated history of the legend of Prester John. Throughout the Middle Ages, the idea of a powerful and pious Christian ruler controlling a vast empire on the other side of the Muslim world fascinated and gave hope to Christian Europeans. Indeed, the Portuguese exploration of Africa, India, and the Far East was to a considerable degree motivated by the search for this mythical King. Although Ethiopia, where a Christian Kingdom did in fact exist, eventually was fixed upon as Prester John's true home, prior to the fifteenth century, China, Central Asia, and southern India had all been considered as probable sites for his kingdom. From the twelfth century onward letters ascribed to Prester John began to circulate. Today these letters are found in numerous versions and a variety of languages including Latin, Old French, Italian, Provençal, German, and Hebrew. While at first glance it might seem surprising that Hebrew versions of so aggressively Christian a text should exist, the letters' popularity was such that they apparently transcended confessional barriers. Moreover, the mention of a kingdom of Jews near that of Prester John meant that it was easy to connect the letters with contemporary Jewish hopes and speculations concerning the Ten Lost Tribes.

It is doubtful if there are anywhere two scholars more suited to the task of placing the Hebrew versions of the letters in their proper context than Professors Edward Ullendorff and C. F. Beckingham. Although the prin-

cipal purpose of their book is to present a critically edited text and annotated translation of the three Hebrew versions so far discovered, the authors offer the reader much more. In addition to the letters, the book includes an historical introduction (1-11) and introduction to the Hebrew Letters and sources (13-36), fragments of a possible fourth letter (147-151), a discussion of Eldad Ha-Dani (153-159), an index of themes and motifs (161-172) and facsimiles of Latin, Old French, and Italian versions of the letters (184-238). The work is characterized by careful scholarship of the highest order throughout. As the authors explain, each of the three letters presents slightly different challenges to the scholar. The first text edited and translated is "Prester John's letter to the Pope in Rome," which exists in a printed text from Constantinople (1519) and in a number of manuscripts. Ullendorff in agreement with L. Olschki identifies Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-81) as the addressee.¹ Beckingham demurs from this view. A. Neubauer's rather surprising claim that the Hebrew text was based on a Latin original is a tremendous oversimplification of an extremely complex problem.² The second letter of Prester John is addressed to the Emperor Frederick: either Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1155-90) or his grandson Frederick II (r. 1211-50). The only manuscript of the text known to exist is dated ca. 1271 and is found in the Adler collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. Neubauer's claim that the text was translated into Hebrew from an old French or Provençal original is plausible, but only if one understands the term "translate" in a general sense.³ The third letter, to Pope Eugenio IV (r. 1431-1447), is found in a single manuscript, Parma 402. The superscription dates the text to 1442, while De-Rossi dates the manuscript ca. 1474. The Italian model for the Hebrew text is revealed through proper names, technical terms, misunderstandings etc. MS. Parma 402 is, in fact, an especially rich source of Hebrew material on Prester John. As the authors note, this manuscript also contains a fragment of a letter which closely resembles, but is by no means identical to, the letter to Frederick. In this context they might also have mentioned a text dated 1455 and ascribed to the leaders of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, which also appears in MS. Parma 402. Prester John figures prominently in this document, both in the main body of the text and in a letter ascribed to the "community leaders from the lands of the East" which it quotes. Finally, a word should be said concerning the short text which the authors describe as a "sort of introduction" to a fragment of Prester John's letter to the Pope (31-4). As I have discussed elsewhere in greater detail. (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, Autumn 1985) this "introduction" is in fact a poorly copied excerpt from Abraham Farissol's *Iggeret Orhot Olam*. A number of troublesome points which appear in the text can be solved on the basis of this identification.

¹ L. Olschki, "Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes" *Historische Zeitschrift* CXLIV (1931) pp. 3-4.

² A. Neubauer "Inyanai Aseret Haschevatim", *Sammelband* IV Berlin 1888 p. 10.

³ *ibid.*, p. 16.

Steven KAPLAN

Departments of Comparative Religion and African Studies,
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Studies on the Mysteries of Manjusri: A Group of East Asian Mandalas and their Traditional Symbolism by Raoul Birnbaum, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph no. 2, 1983, 123 p.

Monographs on individual Buddhist deities in East Asia can be counted on the fingers of one hand. There is Therese de Mallmann's classic study of Avalokitesvara, de Visser's study of Ksitigarbha, Van Gulik's of Hayagriva, Birnbaum's of Bhaisajyaguru, and a few others. This book is a welcome addition to the limited offerings in this vein.

This short but pithy monograph aims to broaden the understanding of the character and cult of the Bodhisattva Manjusri, especially as it developed in T'ang China (618-906). Traditionally identified simply as "the Bodhisattva of Wisdom," Manjusri is best known as Vimalakirti's adversary in the famous debate in the *Vimalakirti Nirdesa Sutra* and as the young Sudhana's spiritual mentor in the *Gandhavyuha* section of the *Avatamsaka Sutra*. However, by the mid to late T'ang, his image in China had expanded: he was perceived as a mountain deity, as the personal protector of the emperor and guardian of the nation, and, subsuming all these roles, as a cosmic lord. This expansion occurred largely in connection with the spread of Esoteric Buddhism in which deities assumed more abstract and symbolic identities than they had in the traditional schools.

Japanese iconographic drawings and paintings ranging in date from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries were the starting point for the author's interest in and exploration of the mysteries of Manjusri. His basic source materials include sections of the *Zuzoshō*, a compendium of iconographic images and short textual passages designed to transmit the proper method of creating a mandala, as well as various mandalas depicting Manjusri astride his lion surrounded by the eight syllables of his mantra or the deities personifying them. The significance of this pictorial material is clarified by references to many canonical sources of which relevant passages are skillfully translated and explained.

To anchor his investigation more firmly within his chosen historical framework—the T'ang period—the author begins the study with an overview of Manjusri worship in the seventh and eighth centuries. This chapter relates the process by which Manjusri became a Chinese deity. It began when Wu t'ai shan in Shansi Province was recognized as his earthly abode, and was furthered by the efforts of the monk Amoghavajra (705-774). Going beyond Etienne Lamotte's seminal study of Manjusri, Birnbaum gives special emphasis to the development of the cult within the Esoteric Chen-yen sect of Buddhism. The new image of Manjusri promoted within this sect underlay the deity's success both in China and in Japan.

Wu t'ai shan, "the mountain of the five terraces," became a flourishing monastic center in the seventh and eighth centuries. Pilgrims from all over Asia flocked there in the hopes of gaining a vision of Manjusri in one of his many guises. Although most of the early temples and images that once dotted this sacred mountain have long since disappeared, accounts by Japanese pilgrims as well as chronicles such as the eleventh century *Kuang Ch'ing-liang chuan* (Extended Records of Mount Clear and Cool) testify to the vitality and importance of the mountain as the Asian center of Manjusri worship. In his discussion of the cult at Wu t'ai shan, the author uses passages from the *Kuang Ch'ing-liang chuan*. One would wish for a complete translation rather than these tantalizing selections, but for this we must await Birnbaum's forthcoming publication "The Chronicles of Mount Clear and Cool: Chinese Buddhist Views on the Sacred Peaks."

Several of the most prominent monasteries on the mountain came into existence or were restored through the efforts of the Central Asian monk Amoghavajra, one of, if not the most influential, masters of Esoteric Buddhism in China. A charismatic personality with a keen political sense who served as religious advisor to three emperors, Amoghavajra was ideally placed to advance the worship of Manjusri. His advocacy of the deity's spiritual powers was the catalyst for Emperor Tai tsung's adoption of him as a personal and national protector, and for the construction of shrines to Manjusri in temples throughout the nation.

The source of Manjusri's special appeal in the politically volatile world of late T'ang China lies in Tantric texts such as *The Scripture on the Dharani of Manjusri's Precious Treasury of the Dharma* (Wen-shu shih-li fa pao-tsang t'o-lo-ni ching). According to this scripture, "Manjusri has a mantra an image and a ritual that are especially appropriate for the age when the dharma is dead, the period when Manjusri is in China" (page 12). This, of course, was the spiritual justification for the pilgrimage to the mountain. In addition, this scripture contains the eight syllable mantra *om ah vi ra hum kha ca rah*, which, when properly invoked using appropriate mudra

before specially prepared images, promised protection against both spiritual and material adversities. In particular, the practitioner could avert calamities, seek good fortune, and be assured protection from enemies. This eight syllable mantra is the basis for the pictorial material which is examined in the three chapters that form the core of this study.

The *Zuzoshō*, the focus of Chapter 2, is one of many compendia of iconographic drawings compiled in Japan during the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the fear that the End of the Dharma was at hand was especially intense. The *Zuzoshō* and similar works were designed to provide exact models for the representation of the multitude of deities who figure in the Dual World Mandala, to record the iconography of famous images, and to aid monks in visualizing and ultimately achieving mystic union with the deities represented. The primary aim of this chapter is to elucidate the structure and function of this compendium through a detailed examination of a select group of deities including Manjusri who figure therein. This lucid account of the workings of an important iconographic compendium should be of special interest to art historians.

In the third chapter on the paintings of Manjusri and his eight syllable mantra, the author provides an extended discussion of the underlying significance of the phrase *om ah vi ra hum kha ca rah*. This is followed by an examination of the iconography of the various forms of the so-called "Eight Syllable Manjusri." The translation of portions of relevant texts reinforces and enriches this visual analysis.

Building on the material presented in the third chapter, the study concludes with a consideration of Manjusri in his little known role as lord of the cosmos. This aspect of the deity is given concrete expression in the paintings showing Manjusri surrounded by deities personifying the planets and constellations. These were designed to serve in rites to ward off calamities resulting from inauspicious astrological forces. The author concludes that Manjusri's status as lord of the cosmos, did not surpercede his image as the embodiment of wisdom. Rather, "he is a lord of the cosmos precisely because of his wisdom. Due to his detachment, his full realization of voidness, he has gained the freedom to traverse with impunity throughout the material realms. With thorough and profound knowledge of the secrets of the celestial influences, he has gained freedom from them" (page 102).

In using imagery as the point of departure for reconstructing the beliefs and ritual practices pertaining to a particular deity, Dr. Birnbaum is staking out new territory for himself as well as other scholars. While images, when properly "read" often reveal more eloquently than words the way a deity is perceived at a given moment, such valuable resources are often ignored or slighted by historians of religion.

In the words of the ninth century Japanese monk Kukai: "Since the Esoteric Buddhist teachings are so profound as to defy expression in writing, they are revealed through the medium of painting to those who are yet to be enlightened ... The secrets of the sutras and commentaries are for the most part depicted in the paintings and all the essentials of the Esoteric Buddhist doctrines are, in reality, set forth therein. Neither masters nor students can dispense with them." (Yoshito Hakeda, *Kukai: Major Works*, pp. 145-146.)

However, the use of visual material dating from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries to reconstruct Esoteric Buddhism in T'ang China is not without problems. While it is true that many of the prototypes for the drawings and paintings then circulating in Japan were brought from China, whether or not they were of the T'ang period is open to question. This issue may not be of particular import in understanding the general character of Manjusri worship in East Asian Esoteric Buddhism, but as the author's stated goal is to contribute to the understanding of Manjusri in the T'ang period, he owes it to the reader to explain more fully the history and credentials of the documents he uses. This, however, is a minor flaw in a valuable and pioneering study which holds considerable interest for scholars in the fields of Chinese and Japanese religion and art.

Dept. of Art History,
University of Pennsylvania

CHRISTINE GUTH KANDA

GAGER, John G., *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*—New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983, VIII + 213 pp.

WILKEN, Robert L., *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage)—Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1983, XX + 190 pp.

Publiés simultanément, ces deux livres se complètent. Ecrits par deux historiens américains ayant depuis longtemps montré un profond intérêt pour le Judaïsme dans l'antiquité tardive, ils abordent par des biais différents le problème de la naissance et du développement de l'antisémitisme chrétien dans les premiers siècles. Leurs conclusions se recoupent et se renforcent mutuellement. Wilken et Gager insistent sur le fait que le Judaïsme se présente, jusqu'au 4^e siècle, comme un rival sérieux pour le Christianisme, ainsi que pour le paganisme. Pour les deux auteurs, il ne

fait pas de doute que ce fait explique en grande partie la montée et la cristallization de formules et d'attitudes antisémites. D'autre part, les deux auteurs insistent de concert sur la matrice dans laquelle il faut replacer cet antisémitisme: un monde culturel dans lequel l'affrontement entre Juifs et Chrétiens reste la confrontation de deux groupes minoritaires. Ce n'est que par référence à la culture païenne et l'intérêt ambivalent qu'elle porte aux Juifs qu'on peut comprendre les attitudes chrétiennes face aux Juifs.

Gager et Wilken se veulent demeurer historiens, et refusent de se laisser entraîner dans le champ de la théologie. Ils ne sont ni dupes, cependant, ni faux naïfs, et savent à quel point l'atmosphère dans laquelle leurs recherches évoluent est imprégnée de théologie, et combien leurs conclusions d'historiens sont importantes pour les théologiens. Tous deux tiennent leur gageure, pourtant, aussi bien que l'avait tenue un grand prédecesseur, Marcel Simon, dans son magistral *Verus Israel: étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Empire Romain (135-425)* — ouvrage composé dans les années 30, mais publié au lendemain de la deuxième guerre mondiale (1^{re} édition: Paris, 1948).

Il faut féliciter les auteurs, avant tout, d'avoir évité les catégorisations un peu rapides qu'on retrouve trop souvent dans les études consacrées aux origines de l'antisémitisme chrétien. Dans la dernière génération, en particulier, un certain "néoflagellantisme" (j'emprunte le terme à R. J. Zwi Werblowsky) de théologiens chrétiens, tels Rosemary Ruether, a fait écho aux accusations lancées par l'historien Jules Isaac en 1948: "l'enseignement du mépris", qui remonterait aux premières communautés chrétiennes, serait l'ancêtre direct de la haine raciale prêchée par les Nazis. Pour Gager comme pour Wilken, il ne s'agit pas de faire un *mea culpa* au nom de la conscience historique chrétienne; il ne s'agit pas non plus, évidemment, d'exonérer, mais de comprendre les phénomènes religieux en les replaçant dans leur contexte — contexte historique, bien sûr, mais avant tout religieux, selon le principe célèbre énoncé par Lucien Fève. L'objectivité de leur ton, la sensibilité dont fait preuve leur recherche, dans un domaine des plus délicats, sont remarquables.

Dans la lignée de M. Simon, Gager et Wilken insistent sur la vitalité spirituelle du Judaïsme après 135, et jusqu'au 4^e siècle. Seule cette vitalité explique les expressions de respect ou même d'admiration pour le Judaïsme qu'on retrouve sous la plume de divers auteurs païens (voir les textes rassemblés et commentés de façon magistrale par M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vols. I-III, Jerusalem 1974-1984). Seule elle explique que dans l'Antioche de Libanius et de Jean Chrysostome, dans la deuxième moitié du 4^e siècle, de si nombreux Chrétiens soient *judaizantes*.

Les pages du livre de Gager qui retiendront le plus l'attention, et offriront prise à polémique sont sans doute celles consacrées à Paul. Gager présente ici les vues développées récemment par Lloyd Gaston. En bref, Paul n'argumenterait pas dans ses *Epîtres* contre la valeur sotériologique de la Torah, mais seulement contre la nécessité, *pour les Gentils*, de l'observer.

De façon un peu similaire, Wilken insiste sur le fait inobjetable que les huit fameuses homélies de Chrysostome "contre les Juifs" étaient en fait dirigées contre les Chrétiens judaïsants, séduits par le culte de la Synagogue. Il analyse de façon détaillée les méthodes polémiques développées par la deuxième sophistique, et utilisées par Chrysostome, ainsi que le contexte historique de Julien l'Apostat et de son projet de reconstruction du Temple — projet qui ne pouvait que renforcer le sentiment de précarité face au Judaïsme ressenti par les Chrétiens. Ces analyses expliquent certes l'invective de Chrysostome, mais expliquent-elles bien toute sa virulence?

A ce sujet, on pourrait regretter l'absence, dans les deux livres recensés, d'une étude de l'évolution de la plémique chrétienne anti-juive du deuxième au quatrième siècle. Pour donner un exemple concret, le ton relativement correct de Justin Martyr, dans son *Dialogue avec Tryphon*, tranche nettement avec celui de Chrysostome. Pour Justin, pourtant, le Judaïsme offrait certainement un défi central. Il me semble que pour comprendre cette évolution, il faut tenir compte de l'évolution de la pensée et de la polémique chrétiennes. Au deuxième siècle, le Christianisme, *religio illicita*, confronte le paganisme et les hérésies gnostiques, y compris le Marcionisme, comme les forces de Satan, du "maître de ce monde". A la fin du quatrième siècle, païens et gnostiques ne représentent plus un danger sérieux pour les Chrétiens. Ce sont les Juifs qui héritent de leur "démonisation". A ce sujet, *pace* Wilken, c'est bien toute l'attitude médiévale face aux Juifs qu'annonce Jean Chrysostome.

Gedaliahu G. STROUMSA

HEESTERMAN, J. C., *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and Society*—Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1985, x + 255 pages. \$32.00 clothbound, \$14.95 paperback.

This collection of essays is, to borrow a term from its own subject matter, a kind of reversed *gurudakṣinā*—not the humble gift of the student to his master, but rather the *guru's* gracious presentation to his pupils, at once a summation and an opening of new paths to be explored. Collected here are several of the most stimulating and seminal essays that the field of Indological research has witnessed over the last two decades (beginning with

Numen, Vol. XXXII, Fasc. 2

"Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer," originally published in 1964, a classic exposition of the history of Vedic sacrificial religion and, indeed, of the development of Indian religion generally). Although a majority of these studies are well-known to the specialist, they have until now been scattered in a variety of journals and volumes of essays; the mere fact of their being assembled here in an easily accessible, compact form is cause for celebration. Moreover, taken together the studies have a remarkable coherence, a basic thematic and interpretative unity which is also nicely articulated, in succinct fashion, in the Introduction written by the author for this volume. (pp. 1-9).

Every one of the essays bears the Heesterman hallmarks of elegance, modesty, and wit. Each, also, in its own way, reveals an equally characteristic boldness of vision—a vision which is, it should be admitted, anything but "safe" or uncontroversial. The very title of this collection points to the complexity and dynamism of Heesterman's reading of Indian civilization: where others see an underlying harmony and a congruence between "ideology" and social reality, here the picture is one of a deep rift, consciously recognized as such by the Hindu tradition itself—the ultimate values and authority vested in the Brahmin coexist in uneasy tension with the mundane order (partly symbolized by the king). Heesterman sees this rift emerging, historically, within the Vedic sacrificial system, whose texts mark a pivotal moment of transition within ancient Indian civilization (a moment connected here, in essay 7, with Karl Jaspers' notion of the Axial Age). This concern with the Vedic sacrifice is one of the three major (and interrelated) foci of interest in these essays; the tensions analyzed in the sacrificial texts lead the author to an examination of ancient Indian kingship and the political order (essays 8, 9, 10), and thence to an interpretation of the Indian tradition's responses to the modern world (essays 1 and 11). In the course of these discussions, other subjects are also cogently discussed—for example, the nature of the Mughal political system, the agrarian order in the villages in relation to caste and the *jajmāni* system, Max Weber's reading of Hindu society, and so on. As readers familiar with the literature would expect, both text and footnotes contain echoes of the ongoing interpretative debate between Heesterman and other scholars (especially Louis Dumont and Madeleine Biardeau) over basic issues in our understanding of Indian religion and society.

The present volume is a selection. Connoisseurs of Heesterman's work may lament the exclusion of several important essays, e.g. "Veda and Dharma" (in W. D. O'Flaherty and J. D. M. Derrett, eds., *The Concept of Duty in South Asia*, Delhi, 1978); "The return of the Vedic scholar (*samāvartana*)", in *Pratidānam* (Festschrift Kuiper, 1968); "Veda and Society: Some remarks à propos of the film 'Altar of Fire,'" *Studia Orientalia* 50

(1981), pp. 51-64; "Householder and Wanderer," in *Way of Life: Essays in Honour of Louis Dumont*, ed. T. N. Madan, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 251-71; or the somewhat more technical "Reflections on the Significance of the *dakṣinā*," *IJ 3* (1959) pp. 241-58, and "Vrātya and Sacrifice," *IJ 6* (1962), pp. 1-37. By way of compensation, perhaps, we find here three hitherto unpublished essays: "Caste, Village, and Indian Society" (chapter 12); "Ritual, Revelation, and the Axial Age" (7); and a truly delightful study of "The Flood Story in Vedic Ritual" (4). Two other essays included here (chapters 6 and 13) appeared originally in German and are now made available in English translation.

Scholars of India as well as a wider public interested in India have reason to be grateful to Professor Heesterman for this "teacher's gift"; and the University of Chicago Press is to be congratulated for undertaking the publication of an outstanding collection.

Department of Comparative Religion,
Hebrew University

David SHULMAN